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JUNE, 1908

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THE JULY ARENA.

The July issue of *THE ARENA*, which will open Volume XXXVI., will be an extremely and unusually strong and attractive number. Among many features of special interest which we expect to publish in this issue we mention the following:

- I. GOVERNOR ALBERT B. CUMMINS: A STATESMAN WHO PLACES THE INTEREST OF THE PEOPLE ABOVE THE DEMAND OF THE PRIVILEGED CLASSES.** By Lewis Worthington Smith, Professor of English Language and Literature, in Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa.

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- II. ASPECTS OF CONTEMPORARY FICTION.** By Professor Archibald Henderson, Ph. D., of the University of North Carolina.

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- III. LABOR TROUBLES IN COLORADO AND IDAHO.** By Hon. J. Warner Mills.

This paper will contain the next chapter in Mr. Mills' extremely valuable story of the overthrow of popular government in Colorado. It will deal with the Eight-Hour Struggle and the strikes that have resulted in the tremendous battle between the united capitalistic organizations—the trusts, monopolies and the public-service companies—and union miners—a struggle that is still being waged with desperate daring in Colorado and Idaho, and which constitutes one of the most sinister chapters in the history of present-day events.

- IV. SOLVING THE LABOR PROBLEM.** By Hon. Lucius F. C. Garvin, Ex-Governor of Rhode Island.

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- V. CHILD-LABOR, COMPULSORY EDUCATION AND RACE SUICIDE.** By Willard French.

A thought-stimulating and highly suggestive paper in which the author takes the advanced position that the best interests of the nation would be conserved by accompanying compulsory education by the system of pensioning all children during their period at school.

- VI. FUNDAMENTAL PRACTICAL MEASURES FOR BULWARKING AND MAINTAINING FREE GOVERNMENT.**

This is the supplementary chapter to the *Primer of Direct-Legislation*, and discusses the Recall, Proportional Representation and Direct Primaries. The Recall has been treated by Eltweed Pomeroy, A.M., President of the National Direct-Legislation League; Proportional Representation is presented by Robert Tyson, Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League; and Direct Primaries is presented by Ira Cross. These gentlemen are specialists who are probably as well equipped for the work assigned them as any persons in America.

- VII. BRITISH EGYPT.** By Ernest Crosby.

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Vice-President, Mrs. HERMAN J. SEIFERTH.
Secretary, Miss MARGARET HANSON.
Treasurer, Mrs. L. C. FERRELL.

This Club was formed in June, 1892.
 The club meets every Monday evening, except during the three summer months, at its rooms, 1836 Clio street, New Orleans, La.

First Arena Club of Denver.

President, Hon. J. WARNER MILLS.
Vice-President, Dr. S. T. McDERMITH.
Secretary, Mrs. V. D. HYDE-VOGEL.

The Club meets the first and third Monday of each month, at 712 Kittredge Building, Denver, Col.

The Arena Club of Olathe, Colorado.

President, F. E. ASHBURN.
Secretary, Miss LIDA COTTER.

The Club meets the first, third and fifth Monday evenings of each month.

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President, JOHN E. COOK.
Secretary, JOHN S. CLARKE.
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The Club meets the first and third Wednesday evenings of each month in the City Library Building.

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The Arena Club of Pond Creek, Oklahoma.

President, F. G. WALLING.
Vice-President, P. W. ZIEGLER.
Secretary and Treasurer, J. A. ALDERSON.

The Club meets second Tuesday of each month until September, and then the second and fourth Tuesday of each month.

Place of meeting, Court Room of Court House.

ARENA CLUB CHAT.

THIS month we shall omit for the most part our regular Club News in order to give a brief abstract of one of the Denver Club's meetings, as it is typical of the Arena Club meetings, or rather it is a fair illustration of the general informal discussion which follows the different addresses or special features of the evening's programme, and will serve to show how thought-stimulating and helpful from the view-point of education along social, economic and political lines is the work of the Clubs. Indeed, they are proving a real factor in broadening the culture of all members.

The Arena Club of Denver is doing a splendid work. Its members have recently enjoyed addresses from a number of able thinkers representing widely divergent view-points. Among these speakers are the following: Hon. J. Warner Mills, President of the Arena Club; Mila Tupper Maynard, of the editorial staff of the *Denver News* and a well-known lecturer on social progress; Dr. S. T. McDermith; Otto F. Thum, the prominent labor leader; the Rev. H. W. Pinkham; Professor James E. Le Rossignol; Hon. Edwin T. Van Cise; Ellis O. Jones, formerly editor of the *Press-Post* of Columbus, Ohio; and Judge Ben. B. Lindsey.

On the evening we are about to notice, the first chapter of the *Direct-Legislation Primer* was read by the Secretary. This primer has been prepared expressly for the Arena Clubs of America by Professor Frank Parsons, President of the National Public-Ownership League and author of *The Story of New Zealand*, *The City for the People* and *The Heart of the Railroad Problem*; Eltwed Pomeroy, President of the National Direct-Legislation League; George H. Shibley, President of the People's Sovereignty League of America; the Hon. J. Warner Mills; Allan L. Benson; Dr. C. F. Taylor; Ralph Albertson, the Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League; J. P. Cadman; Dr. John R. Haynes; W. S. U'Ren and the Editor of *THE ARENA*. After the reading of the primer, President Mills called for free discussion on the question.

Mr. Otto F. Thum spoke of his deep interest in Direct-Legislation, and stated that he had just learned that the Executive Board and officers of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, comprising a number of Federations of the state, has decided to make Direct-Legislation the principal campaign issue this winter. They are going to make an aggressive fight for an amendment to the Constitution for the Referendum and the Right of Recall, so as to compel legislation demanded by the people. He also understood that the Typographical Union had endorsed the principle, so that in Colorado many strong organizations will from now on be engaged actively in a battle for the advance of Direct-Legislation. He further stated that the Cigarmakers "use the Referendum in everything. They have not had a convention in years, but use the Referendum altogether. It is an organization of forty or fifty thousand members, and has for the last ten

The News of The Arena Clubs and Other Movements.

years transacted all of its business by the Referendum with considerable success." The Primer, he felt, was timely and important, especially in Denver, where several things will soon come up for a referendum vote, such as the ordinances providing for the Moffatt Road and the Tramway extensions. President Mills pointed out the fact that the Moffatt and Tramway propositions are to be submitted to the people in pursuance of the Rush Amendment, and Mr. Thum added that "the best thing we can do, as a club, is to endorse the movement and push it along so as to get a constitutional amendment" at as early a date as possible. He thought that perhaps the authors of the Primer were too confident as to the extent of the benefits that might be secured by the Referendum. Mr. Mills replied that it contained statements of opinions, but those opinions were based on facts. Take Switzerland, for example.

With that a member interrupted saying: "The Swiss people are honest and a uniform people."

Mr. Mills replied that "they are a mixed people—all nationalities and five religions. The Referendum was adopted in 1874, but the Initiative had not been introduced throughout the Republic before 1891."

Mr. Vogel suggested that the corporations had not gained much of a foothold then, and Mr. Mills replied that Direct-Legislation was introduced to curb the corporations. He showed how under Direct-Legislation the government had successfully taken over the railroads in a manner highly advantageous to the people, and continuing Mr. Mills said: "Direct-Legislation can do something here. Do you not think it would make short shrift of some of these questions that are interesting the people, such as whether there is any law above the Constitution in the state of Colorado? We would be enabled to decide any questions that may arise by voting directly instead of allowing important measures to be thrust aside by those who are said to be our representatives, but most frequently are misrepresentatives."

A member present then read passages from Mr. Russell's article on "Soldiers of the Common Good," in *Everybody's Magazine* for March, setting forth the prosperity of the Swiss people as a result of their adherence to pure democracy enjoyed through such practical methods as Direct-Legislation.

Mr. York spoke very feelingly in favor of Direct-Legislation. He had long felt how absolutely powerless he and scores of others were to influence the action of either political party. He saw what others saw—that the parties were being controlled by a few working for their own special interests, and that the great mass of the people were practically disfranchised. "I am an old man," he exclaimed, "but it gives me fresh hope—this movement for Direct-Legislation—for I feel that some day I and my sons will have a hand in helping to frame the laws of the country. We may be a real living factor in government,—city, state and national." He believed that Direct-Legislation would do more to uplift the political forces of the country than any other one thing that has been suggested for relieving the masses from the control of the bosses.

Rev. Mr. Pinkham said: "I have an item of interest, which, I suppose, will be in the newspapers to-morrow. At the meeting of the Ministers' Alliance to-day a young man informed us that another petition would be submitted to the councils. The movers back of the project are the young people of the Christian Citizens' League. They will work to establish an indispensable part of Direct-Legislation that will do more than ought else to lead to the enforcement of law. The petition refers to the administrative part of the government. The petition is for the Right of Recall." Mr. Pinkham agreed with de Tocqueville that "the cure for the

evils of democracy is more democracy," and Mr. Mills suggested that it be a guarded democracy. This, indeed, is precisely what Direct-Legislation is—a guarded democracy or guarded representative government. It is based on the fundamentally democratic ideal that the people are the source of power, and insists upon the representatives of the people being representatives of the people instead of representatives of class-interests, and it guards government by reserving the right to veto legislation which does not represent the wishes of the people, and the right to initiate laws which are imperatively demanded by the people.

Mr. Vogel did not like the Primer's form—that of a catechism. Speaking from experience he believed that the prejudice of childhood survives to make unpopular anything that brings up the old nightmare of a catechism. Dr. McDermith did not agree with Mr. Vogel that the question and answer form is not the best way to present Direct-Legislation to the people. He felt that the first chapter of the Primer left practically nothing to be said, and he believed that it appeared in the best possible form—that of putting questions and supplying answers. This Primer, he felt, ought to be printed by the million and distributed by responsible parties among the people.

Mr. Vogel thought that the Initiative and Referendum would probably result in some unwise legislation, but each and every individual who took part in those movements would begin to think about things, and the thinking and learning would help him to be a greater and better citizen. He thought the Referendum would make us develop sociologically. We have reached the point, he insisted, in our development when the idea of a benevolent despotism is dead. What we should do now is to push along the road of real self-government as rapidly as possible.

Mr. Callicotte stated that he had been an advocate of Direct-Legislation since 1892. He traveled continually over the state and did all in his power to foster interest in Direct-Legislation. He has been the means of starting several Direct-Legislation Clubs, and also has done everything in his power to circulate literature that would enlighten the people.

Mr. Bradley said that "a few years ago he was on the Isle of Man where they have used the Referendum for a number of years, and it has proved very successful. They have the House of Keys which formulates the law. Then it must be read to the people from a knoll in the valley and receive their approval."

"Some years ago," he continued, "Home Rule and Public-Ownership for Denver were promised the people on the stump. When it came to the legislature, however, both parties were willing to give one or the other reliefs, but neither would unite to give both the measures the people demanded and which had been promised them. The measures got before the committee, but we could not for some time get them before the House. Finally, by a little stratagem I succeeded in getting them reported, to the amazement of the papers which declared that the graves had given up their dead, for there was a resurrection from the graveyard of the Denver City Charter Committee. A few days later the Chairman ordered that the bills should be held back, after he had come from the Governor's office. Shortly afterwards, I was told that the gentleman wished to see me in the cloak-room. On going there I found a prominent corporation lobbyist who tried every wile to induce me to hold back the bills as a favor to him, and treated me with some violent language when I refused. The next step the bills, which had been placed in the hands of the clerk to engross, were lost and they have never turned up since. The explanation of their loss, as given by the clerk, is as follows: After

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the lobbyist left him, he went to the clerk and requested that the bills be shown to a supporter of the charter-movement who wished to read them over, but who did not desire to be seen about the House. He stated that the friend was waiting on the Colfax avenue steps of the Capitol. The clerk put the bills in his pocket and joined the man on the steps. The latter desired a more private spot for his reading, and suggested a carriage which was standing on the street nearby. Once in the carriage, they were driven rapidly to the railroad depot where the clerk was given a pass for Kansas City and told to stay in that place till he was ordered to come home. That was not until the Legislature had adjourned." The clerk, in exculpating himself, afterward told Mr. Bradley that he had always been ashamed of the part he took in the proceeding, but that he believed in party-rule. Direct-Legislation would put a stop to such betrayal of the people.

President Mills stated that they had in the hall a number of books kindly donated to the Arena Club by Mr. Herman and others, this being the first instalment of the Club's library. They also had letters from THE ARENA stating that their contribution to the library would be sent shortly. He suggested that a Library Committee be appointed. Mr. Vogel moved that the President and Secretary be elected a Library Committee with power to add to their number if desired, and the motion was adopted.

We have given this somewhat extended digest of a typical Arena Club's open court, or general discussion, which follows the special feature of the evening. The report is greatly abridged, and yet it takes as much space as we felt it possible to devote to the subject, as we wish to show how varied, informing and informal the discussions are.

ANOTHER VICTORY FOR HONESTY AND PUBLIC MORALITY WON BY THE MUCK-RAKE MAN.

Score another victory for law and justice won for the people by the much-abused muck-rake man who is such a nightmare to the high financiers, the thieves, the grafters and the machine politicians. On May 4th the United States Grand Jury at New York City indicted the sugar-trust and the New York Central Railroad, bringing in seven true bills on evidence secured and presented by the Hon. William Randolph Hearst. It will be remembered that when Mr. Hearst exposed the extortion, law-breaking and robbery of the coal and railroad-trusts and haled into court the magnates who controlled the criminal corporations, the hirelings of plutocracy in the press and the special-pleaders all along the line who are directly or indirectly beholden to the trusts, the monopolies and the great corporations began denouncing yellow journalism in general and Mr. Hearst in particular. But the people applauded. When, recently, the great radical journalist laid evidence of the criminality of the sugar-trust and the railways before the department of justice, thereby doing the work which the government should have done long before, again the cry was raised, and this time the opprobrious term of the "muck-rake man" was freely used by the various tools of privileged interests when referring to Mr. Hearst. But so convincing was the evidence presented by this muck-rake man that the government was forced to act. As a result the sugar-trust and the New York Central Railroad are indicted for criminal practices.

A CLASS OF FIFTY YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN LISTEN TO DIRECT-LEGISLATION AT AN ARENA CLUB.

Professor John M. Gillette, of the State Normal School of Valley City, North Dakota, sends an inter-

esting report of the Arena Club meeting held on April 23d, from which we make the following extract:

"Our Club met last Monday and discussed self-government,—the meaning of the Referendum and Initiative, the Referendum in America and the advantages of Direct-Legislation. Members of the Club prepared the papers and reports and gave them. They were exceedingly clear and comprehensive. After each report I emphasized and illustrated the essential points. Besides the Club-members, I invited my American History class of fifty members to attend, which it did. The members took notes and will be drilled and examined on Direct-Legislation as a part of their work. We shall next time consider other phases, and particularly many cases of state and municipal guarded representation.

"I desire to say that I like your *Primer of Direct-Legislation*, and will make use of its valuable points. I trust it will be published and widely used."

THE STANDARD OIL, THE PRESIDENT AND THE MUCK-RAKE.

The Standard Oil Company and the high financiers and grafters of Wall street and elsewhere had scarcely had time to fully congratulate each other over Secretary Taft's attack on the muck-rakers who were exposing the corruption of business and political life, before Commissioner Garfield handed the muck-rake with which he had been engaged in the yards of the Standard Oil Company, to the President, who wielded it in so vigorous a manner as to call forth the savage denunciations of Mr. Rogers and Mr. Archbold, who declared the statements of the President to be false. Mr. Roosevelt, however, has the machinery of justice at his command and without expense to himself and with nation-wide approval he can easily prove where the falsity lies. Will he do it, or is the Standard Oil Company, as one of its members is said to have declared, stronger than the government? We shall see.

AN ARENA CLUB IN CHICAGO.

A very promising Arena Club has been recently established in Chicago, the news of which has reached us too late for extended notice, which will, however, appear in our July issue.

POEMS OF PROGRESS: A SUGGESTION.

We this month begin publishing a series of notable poems of progress and democracy by the foremost poets of the people, and we suggest that some member be appointed by the President of each Arena Club to read these poems at some meetings of the Club. They could be read at the opening, before the regular order of business. We suggest this because we believe such poems as will appear in this series will prove a real inspiration to all who hear them, that they will stimulate nobler ideas and visions, and that by feeding the imagination they will lead to consecrated service in the high service of humanity—the emancipation and ennoblement of the people.

THEY REGARD HIM CHIEF AMONG THE MUCK-RAKE MEN.

The Standard Oil Company evidently holds that President Roosevelt is the most wicked of all the pesilent muck-rake men, and the beef-trust-protecting Judge Humphrey is doubtless of the same opinion.

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HON. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE

Photo. by E. R. Curtiss, Madison, Wis.

THE ARENA

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them. They master us and force us into the arena, Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

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THE CIVIC EFFICIENCY OF THE EDUCATED CLASS.

BY HENRY M. WHITNEY.

IN 1864, in a Washington hospital, a volunteer helper came upon a private soldier, a Swede. The man had a tedious time before him, with doubtful result, but he took everything patiently, with a quiet strength of heart. He was a graduate of the University of Lund, and thankful to get good reading in almost any language, but he preferred the English, as he meant to make this country his home. "Why did you come to America and enlist?" "I heard that there was a war over here. I meant to come here to live, and I wanted to pay for my citizenship at the gate."

To this tale of an immigrant may well be joined a bit from the service of an American native. He was a recent graduate of Yale, a brilliant scholar, and the captain of a battery in the same great war. It was the lot of the present writer not only to furnish the Swede with good reading, but to see a letter written by the American-born, a letter written in the shadow of his guns, upon difficult points of Sanskrit grammar: in battle, not long after, this scholar-patriot fell.

Both these incidents could surely be duplicated from the Confederate side. The armies of both sides were recruited from all classes of society, and among these classes the scholars were not the

least zealous or devoted. Their culture had not made them feel too fine to do even the humblest things for that part of the republic that they thought to be right.

Before the Civil war Theodore Koerner had been to the American student the type of all that was finest in the patriot-scholar, but after 1861 the United States had recent great examples of her own; and there was always, from the earlier day, the inspiring story of Nathan Hale.

Has it always been thus? Will it always be thus? These are vital questions, and the answer to the first of them is No. Not only have individuals of the cultivated class in various countries been wanting in willingness or ability to serve the state in its need, but there have been cases, marked cases, where the whole cultivated class of a country has lacked both the power and the spirit to meet that country's needs.

Some years ago* there appeared in the *London Spectator* an article under the title "Three Rotten Cultures": it passed in rapid review the three preëminent cases of failure that have been known thus far. We may begin with these.

The word "culture," it should be first said, is here used in a special sense. We are all familiar with the idea of the culture

*March 18th, 1890.

of the individual man: many of us are working at it in ourselves and in others. But not all of us have broadened our thought to the idea of "a culture," as representing the state of an educated class, the educated class of a nation or a race, through a period, through a great period, perhaps through an age. Yet, of course, there is such a thing, and "a culture" is the phrase to express it.

We distinguish between a culture and a civilization or a social system. We say that there is dry-rot in any civilization or social system that permits slavery or polygamy to exist; but these matters apply to a people as a whole. "A culture" refers to the condition, the character, the quality, the attitude, of the educated part.

We are all familiar with the idea that the culture of an individual may be wrong. Its scope, its fronting, its ideals, may be so far defective, one-sided, groveling, proud, selfish, that the man is not symmetrically, not worthily, not valuably, not truly, a cultivated man. Have we ever broadened our thought to the fact that "a culture," even in the larger sense, the culture of a period, of a race, in its educated class, may also be wrong? The whole basis, or fronting, or material, or method, or trend, or aim, of that educated class, in its culture, may be so mistaken or selfish or corrupt that essentially the culture as a whole,—the work spent upon that class through a period or an age, and the life lived by them,—comes to naught, or worse.

To return to the "three rotten cultures": The first of those that were given so opprobrious a name is that of the noble and wealthy of Rome and the Roman empire some fifteen hundred years ago. It is a mistake to think that in the decadence of that empire these classes were uncultivated, and that the Western empire fell because there were none sufficiently educated to hold it up. The nobles and the wealthy class were educated quite sufficiently for national salvation, but they were not educated in a

manner that would enable them, nor in a spirit that would prompt them, to do that saving work. "They studied regularly from generation to generation in the Universities scattered over the empire, and in mature life, in the seclusion of their provincial estates, they . . . kept up their reading." In intellectual attainment they were, perhaps, farther above the people than any other class in Europe has ever been. Yet this "cultivated class, though it must have been exceedingly numerous, produced nothing, originated nothing, and enlarged no single field of knowledge." They wrote poetry without fire, and letters that had no suggestion of interest in the great issues of life. They became dilettante grammarians, mere critics of form; they developed no real intellectual ability, no strength of thought, no earnestness of character, no spiritual power; when the times grew more and more terrible, and the world was distraught for those who should save it, these educated, cultivated, refined gentlemen, who should have been the immediate and trusted leaders, had nothing to offer for the common good; they and their schools perished in the common destruction; and the gloom, the despair, of the Dark Ages shut down upon the world. The Dark Ages were, therefore, the result of a culture that somehow had gone wrong.*

The second of the helpless cultures has been brought before our thought especially during the last ten years, and it has not yet passed off the immediate stage. In China the literati have been educated just as highly as were the privileged classes of dying Rome. They have fed upon a few national classics, and nothing else; they have studied these minutely, and have regarded the power of quoting them as a chief distinction separating them from the vulgar, whom they despise. Their culture, unintelligible though it is to us, has refined them

*See Samuel Dill's *Roman Society in the Last Century of the Western Empire*.

to a very high degree, so that they can be easily recognized by their amenity of speech and bearing; but there the benefit of their culture ends. It refines their tastes and their manners, but it does not discipline their powers, nor widen their scope, nor change their characters; it does not make them contribute anything valuable to personal or national life. To science they are indifferent; in art they are mere imitators; in politics they are selfish and corrupt. They were worth absolutely nothing or less than nothing when the Japanese burst into China a few years ago; they furnished no leaders to guide the Chinese race and the Chinese government when the fleets of the great powers of Europe were hovering, like birds of prey, along the Chinese coast; in the titanic struggle between Japan and Russia, China only lay inertly, the helpless prize for the victor. If those fleets had been on any other coast and the partition of the country among the powers were about to be attempted, if on land and sea the greatest battles in the history of the world were being fought for the domination of that country, the schools of the country would be looked to at once and of course as places where national saviors might be found. The scholars of Japan have always, and notably in the recent war, been found on the firing-line. But no one has at any time seen that, or looked for it, in China. The old-style scholars of China seem never to have thought of doing anything with their culture, except to climb up the scale of rank and pay. It is agreed by all outside observers that, just as in the later Roman day, the first hope, the only hope, for China has lain in destroying the ascendancy, or, by external pressure or influence, radically changing the character, of her cultivated class. It is hard to imagine that as true of Great Britain, or Germany, or the United States.

It may yet be proved that the most momentous event in the history of China is the abrogation of the requirement of an examination in the classics as a condi-

tion of entering the service of the state. Of late there has been arising in that land a new scholarship, trained in Germany or the United States or, especially, in Japan, a scholarship based upon Occidental ideas; it is fast supplanting the old culture; it is kindling a new spirit of patriotism, and one of its first and most pregnant results is the punishment of American insults by the boycotting of American goods! Such a result is not pleasant to the American "jingo," but the lesson is one that even he who runs may read. Just think of the opportunity now opening before the Empress of China to set four hundred millions of people far forward in the path of a new national life!

The third of the condemned cultures is also one of our own day, but its deficiencies have not, as with the others, been blazoned to the world. Great Britain, having taken upon herself the administration of India, has established a system of schools for the natives, those schools reaching their highest stage in the great Universities of Bombay and Bengal. Thousands of Mahrattas and Bengalis, who are naturally among the most intelligent of mankind, go up through the whole educational system. But it is very generally held that, although they get the form of culture, they do not get its spirit, its substance. For instance, they learn the masterpieces of English literature: that is, they learn them as the Roman nobles of the decadence learned the Latin classics; they learn the words, but catch hardly a particle of their spirit. Like the scholar of the Roman decadence, like the Chinese scholar, they are indifferent to science and the constructive arts; they know for the sake of knowing or for the sake of getting on. For the purposes of large and beneficent administration of public affairs, for high service of their people, they are, as a rule, of no account at all: "They seem to have in politics no sort of efficiency whatever." They do not, for the purposes of citizenship, compare with the much fewer grad-

uates of the missionary schools. Suicide is fearfully prevalent among them.

Le Bon's *Civilizations of India* and his *The Crowd* are terrible arraignments of what *The Spectator* calls a "rotten culture." For example, in the latter work (p. 85) he says of India: "In the case of all the Baboos, whether provided with employment or not, the first effect of their instruction has been to lower their standard of morality."

It is the distinct judgment of many intelligent observers that "education in India, as hitherto pursued" under the patronage or direction of the state, "is of no more value than the education of the nobles in the later Roman period, or of Chinese mandarins now, and [that], like theirs, it will ultimately fall, [and] probably with a crash."

It is hard to see how any one can review such great ranges of fact without being startled out of many crude and hasty notions that before had passed with him for beliefs. We had thought that a school was a school, that the object of a school was to communicate knowledge and to discipline powers, and that by going to school we attained these ends and so were fitted for life. But here are three great scholastic systems, all that an age or a nation has in education, and they are found to be thoroughly wrong, with impotence or mischief as their principal result.

Yet these are not the only cases of the kind, nor are they, except by size, the most impressive. If other examples are smaller, they may, by the special interest of their place or their time, appeal even more powerfully to our minds.

It is one of the rewards of a deeper study of Bible-times that one discovers how the dry-rot of formalism and hypocrisy had eaten into the Pharisaic culture, with ruin as the outcome.

Michelangelo moved in the midst of the great Medicean culture, and moved in a silence that seems to us impossible to understand unless it means that he

was thinking some of the thoughts that are inevitably suggested by the decay in the cultures of the Roman, the Chinese, and the Hindu. Amidst that culture he placed his marvelous works, the sources of healthy and healthful culture to multitudes since his day,—his saints, his Madonnas, his Moses, his David: it is a familiar quotation from Emerson:

"The hand that rounded Peter's dome
And groined the aisles of Christian Rome
Wrought in a sad sincerity."

But the Medicean culture in itself was selfish to the core. Said Ruskin of one of Browning's poems: "I know of no other piece of modern English . . . in which there is so much told . . . of the Renaissance spirit, . . . its worldliness, inconsistency, pride, hypocrisy, ignorance of self." And yet this Renaissance spirit and work were all that in those days, especially in Florence and Rome, had any standing as culture at all.

And what shall be said of the condition of France in recent times? She has long been the headquarters of culture in certain lines, yet in connection with the Dreyfus case it was at the risk of life or fortune that any one suggested the importance of inquiring whether the man was guilty or not. The case is now a little old, but its lesson continues: how much did the educated classes do at that time to call France to her obvious duty? Taine says that France "with each succeeding generation is falling more and more into line with China."

Le Bon (*The Crowd*, p. 87) quotes from Taine as to the failure of the French educational system: "Sturdy common-sense and nerve and will-power our schools do not furnish to the young Frenchmen." To which Le Bon adds: "It is in the schoolroom that socialists and anarchists are found nowadays, and that the way is being paved for the approaching period of decadence of the Latin peoples." Paul Bourget, in *Outre Mer*, says that the French system of education produces merely narrow-minded bourgeois, lacking in initiative and will-power, or anarchists,

"the civilized man degenerating into impotent platitude or insane destructiveness." Upon this Le Bon makes the comment that the public-schools are "factories of degeneration." This is not the whole of the story, for the condition of the church is an almost equally important part.* But the condition of the schools is a vital matter, for the pupils of to-day are the citizens of to-morrow. With a large allowance for pessimism in these writers, there must be much truth in their judgments.

It should be said in passing that it is held by many that, just as a new day has dawned for China with her great educational change, so a new day has come for educated France, and, therefore, for all France, with the passing away of clerical domination over the schools. In this connection one may well read Zola's *Truth*.

The "three rotten cultures" were, or are, not even nominally of the Christian faith. The first was in the inheritance of the pagan religion of Rome, but counted that religion a false, an exploded, superstition, and yet had nothing to put in its place: hence Gibbon could truthfully say that the various religions were to the Roman multitude equally true, to the philosophers (and all the educated class) equally false, and to the magistrates equally useful. The second is intensely religious, after its kind, but it is in the teaching of Confucius, that rises no higher than ancestor-worship and has no power to change either the heart or the life. The third is made up chiefly of Brahmins, with not even the measure of spiritual life that is shown among the Indian Buddhists. The Pharisaic culture set itself virulently against Christ and destroyed him. The Medicean was essentially pagan, not to say heathen, having cast off all but the name of the Christian faith. The French—one wishes to seem sympathetic with the effort of that people to

have self-government, an educational system, and a voluntary maintenance of religion, all of a kind that shall command the respect of the world, but the critic is not impressed with the extent to which Christianity has shaped the character of the French.

But, religion not being considered, such are the facts about the value of some six educational or cultural systems. Are all national cultures, is American culture, to go the way of the great three, or of the three that are less?

In America we have had a certain unity in our educational work, so that what we are so eagerly making out must seem to those outside, and will surely seem to future times, as completely one as any of those three or those six of which we have been speaking. Ours is the American culture: the future will know it as such. The question may well be pondered with great seriousness: will our culture be added to the list of those that could not be kept from decay, from becoming inefficient for the great, sometimes the desperate, needs of the state? Will some editor of the twenty-fifth or the thirtieth century, perhaps that New Zealander whom Macaulay represented as possibly yet to moralize over the ruins of London, —will he write of "Four rotten cultures," the later Roman, the Chinese, the Anglo-Iradian, the American,—each in its turn and in its time collapsing, the American last?

It is easy for us to say "No," and to take it as a matter of course; but what is the ground of our faith? It would be well for us to keep out of easy presumptions; it is important for us to remember the perils of that national conceit to which we are so prone. The Roman would have maintained the excellence of his culture, and with a peculiarly Roman, an almost American, pride. The Chinese mandarin would smile the simple smile of his race and pity our ignorance of those books that contain all the wisdom that is of any account. The young Bengali

*See an article by William Barry in *The National Review* for March, 1890.

would hardly stop his subtle discussions of his beloved metaphysics to tell us of the impossibility of improving upon his union of metaphysics in Bengali with ornamental literature in the English tongue. Self-satisfaction was the dominant note of the Pharisaic and the Medicean cultures, as it is of the French culture of to-day. "Pride goeth before destruction"; is there really any reasonable ground for faith that our culture has in it that which will protect it from decay?—that some future Ruskin will not have to write of our culture words as stinging as those that John Ruskin wrote of the Renaissance?

That we have the conceit is shown by the lightness with which we have burst into the Orient and have undertaken to show alien races how to conduct their national life. That we have the selfishness and the arrogance is shown by the way in which we have thus far governed those millions whom we have forced to come under our sway. That we have the moral insensibility for it is shown by the fact that we rewarded with high rank in the United States army a gross violation of the duties that go with being rescued and fed by one's foe. That we have the folly for it is shown by the way in which we have been spending hundreds of millions of dollars in asserting "our right," as Burke once said, "to shear the wolf." It is impious for us to assume that we are such favorites of heaven that we shall be kept from letting dry-rot get into our culture and so bringing down the whole structure of our civilization in ruin. For us, as for the others, the question will work out its own answer by irrefragable spiritual laws.

Many people who mean well but who have no penetration in their thought assume that we shall be protected by our knowledge of the religion of Christ, not realizing that any religion has to be personally experienced before it can have protecting power, and that the very thing that the decay first attacks is the willingness of the man and of society to live by

the self-abnegating teachings of Christ. The Christian religion is not alone among religions in having had more than enough of that homage which is the attempt of hypocrisy and rapacity to masquerade in a pious garb. Too often the spirit of Christianity has had but slight effect in elevating the conduct or saving the destiny of a state.

Our seers point out to us a great many things that have an ominous look and that should make us turn from criticizing our neighbors to judging ourselves. Let an Englishman speak for England: J. Franck Bright, Master of University College, Oxford, writing an elaborate history of England from "medieval monarchy" to the "imperial reaction" of the present, thus sums up the situation there: "Ambition and the love of rule, belief in extended empire, in restricted and selfish commerce, in the superiority of a military life, in the value and importance of the privileged classes, and the substitution of symbolism for higher spiritual creeds, are marked characteristics of the time, and are exactly those things which the last century prided itself on having left behind."* This is an uncomfortable picture, but is it not startlingly descriptive of recrudescences or new inflammations in the American mind to-day? If we can make it even a little less true as an account of ourselves, we should address every power that we have to the work. If we cannot make it less true, is there not decay in our civilization and our culture? Is our educated class doing all that it can to prevent or to retrieve such decay?

As an element of hopefulness in the American situation, we desire to emphasize but a single point. Our American culture has always been more democratic than its contemporaries, and, on the whole, it has been and is increasingly democratic. It is a chief argument for manhood-suffrage that it has been proved by experience that a state takes very poor care of

*Vol. V., p. 273.

its citizens below the voting-line. Manhood-suffrage was a very bold experiment; it does not stand altogether to reason; it works great and obvious evils in our great cities; it is far from being ideal in the rural districts; it is in constant peril of being debauched by the candidate who seeks office with his pocket-book in his hand; it does not prevent the voter from being fooled to his very face; but it has this excellence, that it obliges the office-holder at least to go through the motions of caring for the masses and not merely for the privileged few. We attribute it to the fear of the ballot, that, although privilege and wealth have, even with us, been able, to a very great degree, to control the making and even the execution of laws for selfish ends, yet somehow the bottom-man has been taken care of in America as never before, and has had a chance to rise as nowhere else.

Hence, establishing schools, we have established them especially, and more and more, for that bottom-man and his child. And history has shown that the mixing of social classes in education has been one of the greatest safeguards of the quality of culture, helping to keep it pure, practical, helpful, unselfish;* while the restriction of education to an aristocracy or a caste and the separation of social classes in the process of education have been mistakes that were fraught with mischief.

The first Napoleon had the shrewdness to note the essence of democracy: he said that it meant a career opened to ability, to merit, to worth, in any class. The recent elevation of men of humble origin to important administrative positions in Great Britain and France is of vital significance not only as to the reality of the

democratic character of those countries but as to the prospect of national health. Only under institutions essentially democratic could a Lincoln work his way to the headship of the state, and only under a culture essentially democratic could such an apostle and representative of culture as Lowell help his countrymen to understand the greatness of Lincoln or eulogize democracy in a semi-aristocratic country at whose court he represented the United States.

No reflective observer can fail to see that one of the greatest hardeners and then corrupters of the human heart is the spirit of caste. A culture that is founded upon caste, that strives to protect or build up a caste, is absolutely sure to do mischief—in a positive or a negative way. On the other hand, the more frequently and intimately and helpfully the representatives of different social classes can meet and learn to respect each other,—in the schoolroom, or on the athletic field, or anywhere else,—the purer, other things being equal, will be the life and the culture of all, and the more will those who have had greater privileges think it a matter of course that they must help in any good work that is doing. They realize better that the world is not wholly of them nor for them.

Further, the constant upheaval of new and vigorous life from "the masses" into the refined and educated class has been proved an inestimably valuable thing. Such upheavals, differing in kind, in degree, and in importance, have been scattered throughout English and American history. Fastidious culture, the patrician spirit, do not know what to do with this new life, but the effect of its coming is like that of opening a window in a close and overheated room.

In America to-day there are two lines in which a healthful mingling of classes may especially be found. One, as we have already suggested, is the educational system. In the older days the "select school" was the place for the child, if the family-purse could afford it. In the

*There has been recently a striking testimony, by President Angell, to the value of the meeting of all classes in the State University, more than half of his students needing to earn money in order to make their way: this, and even more, is true of most of the western schools. In the eastern field perhaps the latest illustration may be found in President Eliot's last report: he deprecates the raising of the price of tuition for fear of its effect upon the democratic character of Harvard.

towns only the poor attended the district-school: even the high-school was kept from being really high by the extent to which the prosperous held aloof. It was only in the college that the rich and the poor came together, and even there the lines of distinction were keenly felt. But, just as the public-library has ceased to be proprietary and has become the privilege of all, where distinctions of rank and wealth are forgotten, and has also been made very good, so the public-schools, from the lowest to the highest, are, especially in the more democratic parts of the country, used and enjoyed by all classes, and hence have been made good enough for the rich, while not beyond the reach of the poor. Then, the friendships of school-days are carried through life, crossing all artificial lines. Some of the universities have become intolerably expensive, but there are others that are good and in which the poor are not herded by themselves. Undemocratic ways have indeed, crowded in; the growth of wealth has done much of its usual work in chilling the heart; but still our colleges and universities are substantially democratic; men are still valued there for their worth; the door of opportunity is still open to the deserving, however born; and the future is still so hopeful that President Harper, in one of his very last utterances, ventured to declare even that "the university is the prophetic interpreter of democracy." So long and so far as this continues true, our culture will be safe from decay.

The other method by which social classes among us are being actively stirred together is by change of abode. There are very large parts of the country in which almost no one was born in the community in which he lives; it is safe to presume that the man with whom you are talking came from somewhere else. Perhaps his children are already writing him letters from their new homes. In those new places the spirit of caste will reassert itself, but it will be at disadvantage, like the weed that has been once cut

down to the root: the man has had at least one migration, and the lesson of it, the habits taken up in it, will not be easily unlearned.

Or, if the man lives on in the old town, it is much that travel is made easier every year. The soldiers of the Civil and the Cuban wars came home a very different sort of men; there was the comradeship of the uniform, uniting rich and poor, the cultivated and the less refined; and there had been the broadening effect of change of scene. As the people of a new country cannot make very hard lines of caste against those on whom they may at any moment be dependent for a helping hand, so the lines cannot be firmly drawn against the man whose canteen or haversack has afforded the educated soldier the means to cling to life.

But just ordinary travel helps. The locomotive and the trolley-car are great helps in the promotion of the democratic spirit, with its sweetening and preserving effects upon culture. It will not hurt us to be jostled a little now and then by our brother-man.

We have the courage to think that the same things are true of that more radical change of abode that we call immigration. It is the conventional thing to be alarmed for our American institutions in view of the deluge of the foreign-born that has been coming in upon us for many years. But the idea is largely unintelligent, or the product of narrow sympathies, of an unwillingness to have people different from the kind to which we are used. With many it is due to a fear of being beaten in the competitions of life: this fear is well-grounded, for we venture the assertion that the average immigrant of the past forty years has been better than the average American whom he has found in the country. These people, in spite of exceptions, have been selected stock; they have been the ambitious, the enterprising, the courageous, the patient, the hardy, of their several races: the timid, the inert, the feeble, were left at home. Those who came were willing

to work for lower wages, to work more hours, to have fewer pleasures, than the American-born. All over the great Northwest the Germans, the Scandinavians, are as fine civic material as the country possesses; it has long been recognized that the Irish have proved a very valuable contribution to our national make-up; even of the races most distrusted there are better things to be said than most people know. It is freely confessed that it is the foreign-born in Wisconsin and Minnesota who have held those states to political sanity, when much more purely American states have seemed to go mad. That fierce spirit of democracy that has made Norway break away from aristocratic Sweden has helped in America to prevent the formation of social strata along the lines of wealth. All these people, in coming to America, escaped from a less or a greater degree of subjection to privilege and caste, and, even when the men of native stock have been willing to put on the shackles, these people,—not always wisely, to be sure,—have made a strenuous fight to be free. It is a common remark in the West that the foreign-born citizen is more truly patriotic than the citizen who was born on the soil. If, as Voltaire said, the good citizen needs no ancestors, so neither does he need to have been born with any particular complexion, in any particular land, or in the land in which he lives.* So long as the high quality of the immigrant can be maintained and so long as "America means opportunity" to him, we shall have from him great help in resisting the hardening of society into castes, with all the perils of "dry-rot" that such hardening brings not only to the educated class but to all.

We began with an incident that is suggestive in this line. Here is another: The writer was present one Sunday, in Wisconsin, at a missionary conference

of German Moravians from a considerable district, and was impressed not only with their sincerity but with the spiritual beauty of many of the faces: they were holding their exercises in a bare pasture because they had been driven out of their beautiful grove on the lake by the din of an American Sunday-resort.

Any one can pick up cases like these, and broader generalizations, too. For instance, the Chinese have the reputation of being very careful to pay their rent, and they have to their credit many acts of kindness rendered to unfortunates of the "superior race." Many investors presume that a German or a Scandinavian name on a mortgage means that the man will try to "take care of his paper." It is amusing and comforting that to many of the foreign-born or their children there are few objects of greater detestation than the "foreigner," by which they mean the one of recent foreign extraction who is not disposed to be a good American. But they cannot always make themselves look right to those who do not speak their tongue. Many of them, however, have taken high positions in national, state, or municipal affairs: those who best comprehend the problems of civic well-being are glad to have such men at the front.

Returning to the broader proposition as to democracy: The people are not always right, of course: it was Thomas B. Reed who added to our stock of immortal epigrams that characterization of our Philippine venture: "A whole nation gone wrong"; in England there is now no political axiom more universally accepted than that the wild plunge into the Crimean war was a horrible mistake; a people is always wrong when it is obsessed by the passion for war. But the people want to be right much more than some suppose, and those who are trained in self-government try pretty hard to be right; it is likely that they try harder than those who have enormous masses of property to build up with abnormal speed. There can be nothing but loss

*So, also, intermarriage of the old American stock and the best foreign element must be a source of national strength. It is the futile Spaniard that has the "purest" blood.

when those least endowed with opportunity or advantage are left out of the account. Again we say: our people of education, as well as our influential people of every other class, are by manhood-suffrage forced to take some sort of care of the humblest; and presently, because these people have been given a chance, they or their children are in positions where they are of great value to the national life. Hence, though with limitations and regrets, we all are bound to believe in democracy, as being in the large view the best. Even Russia, we must believe, will not begin to be safe till those who now not only have no opportunity but have not even protection from oppression have some share in making the laws.

As the English nobility have been kept not wholly unworthy of their exalted place and privilege only by frequent accessions from the classes below, so many of the leaders of our American life, education, culture, government,—who have helped to keep our culture from decay,—have risen by their own efforts from poverty and every other disadvantage; they have been, perhaps, as Lincoln said of himself, "without a name, and without a reason why [they] should have a name." Some one will yet write the same story of Russia: until this last upheaval it was the educated poor who were especially kept from having a share in public affairs. Their ardent desires to serve their fatherland have all been denied, and that alone was enough to bring ruin.

The cultures that *The Spectator* calls "rotten" were aristocratic to the core. So were Jewish government and society in the time of the Pharisees and the Herods. So was the "republic" of Florence. Into such a condition a great alliance of clericals, militarists, and monarchists is trying to put back France.

In any such country as Spain or Turkey the peasantry are far superior in all the possibilities of excellence to the classes that have long felt the subtly corrupting

effects of exclusive privilege. We repeat: give the rank and file of any nation the right to climb to education, culture, wealth, power, and they will supplant those who abuse their privilege, and will keep the leadership until they in their turn become effete or corrupt and in their turn give place to others from below. A civilization, a culture, that rests upon the notion of the worth of the humblest is not so likely to become futile or worthless in the great exigencies of society or the state.

We do not consider this hospitality to the democratic idea, this taking of the democratic idea for granted, as a sufficient safeguard to culture. Not at all. But it is a most valuable influence in connection with other things. And one of those things is the prevalence of the sense that there is always something better ahead. For ourselves, we never tire of hearing from each new discoverer that progress is the law to which we are born and by which we and the world must live. As we hear it, if it means more than additional scientific facts, if it means more manhood, more life of the soul, we take courage to believe that our culture is not ceasing to be true, is not shriveling into selfishness, is not turning into the worship of the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, or the pride of life. There is a goal toward which every state, society, civilization, culture, should move, that goal not being in personal gain; and to know that fact is to know very much, to know more than some famous philosophers ever discovered; it is to know more than he can know who never thinks of ideals at all.

If the learned men of the Roman decadence had any such beautiful hope, the story has not come down to us,—except as a few of them took up the Christian faith and so became but a voice crying in a wilderness where few could hear. Confucianism, Brahminism, are inhospitable to such ideas; their ideal, if it can be called an ideal, is to step precisely in

the footprints of the past.* It is expressly said that the young Hindu, learning English literature, does not catch this, its subtlest essence, its "precious life-giving spirit." And what has Confucianism, with all its scholarship and all its ethical elevation, done for China? It has only lulled China to add century after century to her age-long sleep.

Wealth, especially when being amassed, tends constantly to choke out spiritual ideals, although the situation is helped when the rich and the poor meet under circumstances that call out their better selves. The dependence of the schools upon the wealthy, especially if their wealth is ill-gotten, increases the peril that the spirituality shall be in the outward seeming, rather than in the inward life. Feeling keenly the peril, we rejoice to believe that there still is in our educational system, in our methods of training, in the spirit of our cultivated classes, enough spirituality, enough alert unself-

ishness, to save our culture as a whole from present decay.

And what does culture become when it begins to decay?—when the dry-rot strikes in? It gives itself a new definition, being satisfied, perhaps, to be a mere enlargement of information, with the development and enjoyment of taste. It omits the training of the conscience; it omits the discipline of the will; it forgets or neglects those powers of the soul by which the man reaches forth after duty. It knows not any of the laws of the spirit. It forgets the rights of fellow-man. If our national culture, that is, the trend of life in our educated classes, ever ends upon self, then our culture is in great peril of being added to the "three" whose great mischief has been to prevent the entrance of wisdom, and whose judgment has been or may be to "go down with a crash."

HENRY M. WHITNEY.

Branford, Ct.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE: A STATESMAN AFTER THE ORDER OF LINCOLN.

BY WILLIAM KITTLE,

Secretary of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools of Wisconsin.

ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, the junior Senator from Wisconsin, was born a few miles from Madison, Wisconsin, in 1855. He is of French Huguenot extraction. His boyhood was spent on a farm. He entered the University of Wisconsin in 1874 and during his college course won the championship for his university in an interstate contest for oratory. In 1879, he graduated from the

general science course and from the law department in 1880. Although regarded by the politicians as a mere boy, he was at once elected district-attorney of Dane county and held that office for four years. By his eloquence and ability he had obtained a state reputation and in 1884, at the age of twenty-nine, he was elected a member of Congress from the Capital district. He was in Congress from 1884

*The latest and most apposite note of this fact, so far as we have seen, is in R. A. Hume's *Missions From the Modern View* (p. 19): "One fundamental weakness in the doctrine of transmigration and of reincarnation, which are the principal forces in Hinduism, is that it is wholly or mainly the past that controls the future. But poets and seers and all lovers [including, we may add, lovers of

country] know that the present and the future are more than the past. Therefore, while not ignoring the past or the present, they care for the past principally because it is the door into a greater future. That is, the lure of the ideal is the formative influence in the life of the poet and the seer and the lover." Yes, and of the patriot, too.

to 1890, and served on the Ways and Means committee with McKinley. During the next ten years, he held no official position. A powerful coterie in his party had remanded him to private life. This ring parcelled out the offices, state and national, and quietly but effectively determined that on account of his independence and for his opposition to the senior Senator from Wisconsin, he should hold no office whatever. LaFollette saw clearly that the great mass of the people were for him and that a small ring controlled every caucus and convention. His confidence in the people was Jeffersonian. He spoke to them on every occasion, at fairs, in churches, at celebrations, and by formal lectures. His one theme began to be "Representative Government," in which the will of the majority should control directly the votes and acts of the representative. He began to crystallize public opinion on a plan to secure direct nominations by the people. This plan formulated and advocated by him became known as a "primary election." In eight years, one man, by his eloquence, his integrity and his ability as an organizer, had impressed the value of this new and untried principle on nearly half a million voters. The principle itself would not have carried without the remarkable oratory of its advocate.

In 1898 La Follette was a candidate for governor before the state convention. He was defeated by the politicians, but his principle of primary election was put in the platform. His candidacy had now become formidable to the ring. From Washington came a tempting offer of a lucrative position in the treasury department to get him out of the state. His law practice had been neglected. He was known to be in debt. He declined the position offered by his enemies, and carried on his continuous campaign. In 1900 he was again a candidate for governor. Nearly every Congressional district had an opposing candidate. The greatest daily paper in Wisconsin opposed La Follette. One by one every other

candidate withdrew. The people in every district had compelled the retirement of every opponent. No such victory over the politicians had ever before been achieved. When the state convention met, the eloquent advocate of better government was unanimously nominated by acclamation, and was elected governor in the following November.

The first long period of the contest was over. For ten years the man who was now governor had advocated the principle of direct nominations by the people without interference by the politicians. The people of Wisconsin, in two elections, had unmistakably declared for that principle. Twice had the platform plainly pledged its enactment into law. Both branches of the legislature had large majorities elected upon that issue. When the question came before the legislature, a powerful corporation-lobby defeated the primary-election bill, and also a bill for the equal taxation of property. Governor La Follette afterwards publicly stated that the legislature had been corrupted by every form of vice; that members had been brought to the chambers intoxicated; that there could be no doubt that money had been offered and accepted; but that money was offered and refused was susceptible of proof. Governor La Follette and the people were given a striking object-lesson of the power of a ring of professional politicians backed up by a lobby sent by the public-service corporations.

This defeat called out all that was best in a virile, able and honest man. He sprang to the contest with renewed vigor. He saw that free government is but a name if the will of great majorities, definitely registered at the polls, can be defeated by money. He informed every voter in the state that their expressed will had been defeated by a corrupt lobby in the Capitol. By conferences with hundreds who visited Madison, by earnest addresses in various parts of the state, and by messages to the legislature defining the issue, he literally made public opinion against three hundred papers

throughout the state supported by the politicians and the corporations. In order to win, he had to triumph over the corporations, the politicians, and many of the chosen representatives of his own party in the legislature,—and he won.

The next contest was before the voters of Wisconsin in the campaign of 1902. It was fought out with vigor in every voting precinct in the state. The politicians and the corporations bought up three hundred country-newspapers, and sent out from Milwaukee carefully-written editorials purporting to emanate from the local editors. They united on a candidate subservient to their interests. They avoided the issues raised by the governor, and from three hundred villages and cities they made the state ring with denunciations of the "populist" and "demagogue" who had simply advocated the direct nomination of public officials and the equal taxation of all property.

The Republican state convention of 1902 was held in the huge university gymnasium at Madison, the home-city of Governor La Follette and the home-city also of his arch-enemy, Senator John C. Spooner. More than a thousand delegates were present from every part of Wisconsin. Twice had the party violated its pledges to the people; and now more than two hundred delegates were there with unblushing front in the bad cause. But eight hundred delegates were also there to speak in no uncertain terms for a primary-election law and for equal taxation, and to nominate their loved and admired leader. The proceedings were orderly, but there was an air of expectation in the great assemblage for the moment when the governor and finest orator of the commonwealth was to be nominated.

A man of marked integrity and ability nominated La Follette. Three-fourths of the convention ratified the nomination, and a committee was dispatched to invite the nominee to address the convention. When he appeared, nothing was wanting in the ovation. Before him were

the men who for months had denounced his every act. There, too, were his loyal friends from Lake Superior to Illinois and from Lake Michigan to the Mississippi. His home-city saw a great host summoned there after ten years of public service for good government. His wife and daughter and little son, closer to him than any in that great array of close personal friends, were just at his right on the platform. His address had been carefully prepared; but in delivery and eloquence it held the rapt attention of the great audience and, when published in the next morning's papers, had a profound influence in the state. At the close he said: "I do not treasure one personal injury or lodge in memory one personal insult. The span of my life is too short for that. But so much as it pleases God to spare unto me, I shall give, whether in the public service or out of it, to the contest for good government."

In the campaign which followed, La Follette spoke fifty-five consecutive nights and a greater number of times during the days as he went from city to city. On the last night of the campaign, he spoke for three hours and his voice was clear and strong. Against the strongest opposition he had ever met, an opposition wielding great wealth and political power, he was elected governor by a plurality of 47,599. Both branches of the legislature had large majorities pledged definitely for a primary-election law and a law for the equal taxation of property. Yet, when bills were introduced for these two purposes in the next legislature, they were openly defeated by the corporation-lobby. Three times had the platform pledges been violated. Twice had the members of the upper house of the legislature prostituted their office. But in the executive chair was a man who could not be bribed or silenced. Though defeated again and again, his integrity and courage were still formidable to the ring. He was a lion, but not at bay. He carried on a continuous campaign. He said in December, 1903: "The contest must go on, and on,

and on, until it is settled and settled right."

Extraordinary interest attended the election of delegates in the primaries for the State Republican Convention to be held in Madison, on May 18, 1904, to elect delegates to the National Republican Convention. The influence of the railroads and other corporations was openly exerted to defeat the champion of equal taxation. Every station-agent of the railroads was ordered to do his utmost to defeat the La Follette delegates on the day of the caucus. As these caucuses were held on different dates in the different counties, train-crews were held at given points to elect the Stalwart delegates. Money was freely and notoriously used. As the morning-papers reported the election of delegates who had been chosen the preceding day in a group of counties, they were as eagerly read as were the reports of battles in the Spanish or in the Civil war. The largest vote ever recorded was given at these primaries.

The state convention of 1,065 delegates met at Madison, May 18, 1904. 952 were uncontested delegates, their election, credentials and regularity being unquestioned by either faction. 515½ of these were conceded by the Stalwarts as being favorable to La Follette. The six Stalwart members of the State Central Committee on May 17, the day preceding the convention, unanimously conceded 20 more votes from the first districts of Grant and Eau Claire counties. These 20 votes were not included in the 515½, which were at all times conceded by the Stalwarts. Therefore they openly admitted the election of 535½ delegates for La Follette. 533 was a majority. As a matter of fact, Governor La Follette had 574½, a clear majority of 84½.

The Stalwart delegates, 485 in number, held a bolting convention, with no formal notice, no roll-call, no regularity. No one really knows how many delegates were present and it is certain that persons not delegates attended and took part in the irregular proceedings of this meeting.

It purported to elect four delegates to the Republican National Convention,—Senator John C. Spooner, Senator Joseph V. Quarles, Congressman Babcock and Emil Baensch, the Stalwart candidate for governor. The regular republican convention also nominated a complete state ticket and elected delegates to the National Convention.

The case was now appealed to the Republican National Committee at Chicago. A formal but farcical "hearing" was given on June 16-17, 1904, at Chicago. Gas Addicks was a member of that committee. For days preceding the trial of the Wisconsin case, Senators Spooner and Quarles appealed to Senatorial courtesy to sacrifice the leader of the regular Republican party in Wisconsin. George R. Peck, the attorney of the St. Paul railroad, labored indefatigably to defeat La Follette. Walter Wellman stated that the plucky governor of Wisconsin was run over by the "bullgine." Every effort was made by La Follette to secure a fair trial, but without success. It became evident that the National Committee had prejudged the case. Printed briefs covering every material fact in the case were laid before the Committee, but they were not even read. Before the Committee could report back to the Convention, La Follette issued a defiance to the corrupt tribunal and took an appeal to the voters of his state. Before the election, the Supreme Court of Wisconsin handed down a decision that the convention which had nominated the La Follette delegates was the regular Republican convention of Wisconsin.

A campaign of extraordinary bitterness ensued. The Stalwarts placed ex-Governor Scofield as candidate for Governor under the party name of "National Republican." Senators Spooner and Quarles took the platform against La Follette. It was not expected by the Stalwarts that Scofield would be elected. He was put in the field to capture those old-time voters who could not be brought to vote the Democratic ticket. The great

majority of the Stalwart votes went to the Democratic candidate for governor, and were so intended by Spooner, Quarles and by Scofield himself.

But Governor La Follette carried on a campaign that must have extorted the admiration of his foes. He bought an automobile and used the railroads and carriages to enable him to meet the people. In many cases, the farmers knowing that he would pass along a certain road, would meet him and call for an address by the roadside. Wrapped in a large fur-overcoat and wearing the well-known soft-wool hat turned up all around and speeding along the country roads to meet audiences, he presented a striking appearance. For months he spoke to tens of thousands in the country, in villages and cities. On Friday evening preceding the election he addressed ten thousand people in the Exposition Building in Milwaukee for three hours. When he retired to the Plankinton Hotel, he was wet with perspiration and was cared for by an attendant and rubbed in alcohol. The next morning he was up at seven o'clock to take a train for a forenoon meeting. The next Monday evening he addressed the students and people of his home-city in the university gymnasium, where three thousand had assembled to hear his last speech before the election. The next day Wisconsin gave him a plurality of 50,952 votes.

Three qualities distinguish this virile, resourceful and eloquent leader:

He is an absolutely honest man. Had his great ability been devoted to the interests of the public-service corporations, he would have had Spooner's place in the United States Senate long ago. Before he had been doomed to defeat by the ring, he was called to Milwaukee by a United States Senator and offered a large roll of bills if he would betray a public trust. He refused and was thrown out of Congress and public life for ten years. In 1898, when a clear majority of the delegates to the State Convention had been elected to nominate him for governor and a suffi-

cient number of the delegates had been literally bought with money, Charles Pfister, then one of the bosses and recently indicted by the grand jury, came to La Follette's hotel-room after midnight, preceding the convention, and said: "We have got you skinned, Bob; but if you will behave yourself, we will take care of you." Not long after he was offered a tempting position in the treasury department at Washington, but he refused it. When he was nominated in 1900 for governor, the railroads placed at his command special trains; and after the election, by every insidious means, tried to swerve him from the platform pledges. The people of Wisconsin know in whom they have put their trust.

He is an organizer of the first rank. He began without a party. He has created one. He had nearly all the old-line politicians against him, but by appealing directly to the people he has retired them to private life and built up a new organization. This has been called the "machine," the "ring," etc. But its main strength lies in the fact that it represents and is close to the mass of the people. But such a body of workers presents peculiar difficulties to leadership. Yet La Follette has not only inspired them with confidence and respect, but also with admiration and affection. Probably no man in American history, not even Henry Clay or Blaine, has called forth such personal loyalty and friendship.

But as an orator he appears at his best. His gracefulness in delivery, the strength and vigor of his thought, the purity of his English, his high ideals, and his lofty conception of the integrity and courage of a public official indicate unmistakably the character of the man.

This orator quotes no poetry or literary gems of any kind, uses no figures of speech has no climaxes, tells no stories, indulges in no humor. Though familiar with all the masterpieces of literature, and lectures on certain plays of Shakespeare, he never refers to them in his political addresses. He uses no historical examples or allu-

sions. He takes the driest subjects,—taxation and election methods,—and holds the rapt attention of farmers, laborers, merchants and professional men. If there is any climax in his impassioned addresses, it is when he mentions the public official who neglects or refuses to do his duty.

He has no carefully wrought-out exordium or peroration. His opening is rather in the nature of a courteous greeting, merging quickly into the dignified earnestness of his argument. After the first half-dozen sentences, his voice, rich and varied in quality, becomes clarion, resonant, yet musical and far-reaching. His delivery at times is marked with great rapidity and is always dramatic. In grace of manner and action, and in dignity and ease of position on the platform, he satisfies the most critical, yet all in his audience are rather intent on the ability

and earnestness of the orator. He is scarcely five feet four inches in height, squarely built, with a large head and a high square forehead, from which the hair rises partly pompadour. His face is powerfully expressive and earnest. His flashing eyes and square jaw show determination, integrity, and high ideals. That face, when the orator is roused to action, becomes indescribable, and when once seen can never be forgotten. The leonine head, the body bent slightly forward or held rigidly erect, the hand clenched, the delivery rapid and impassioned, the resonant, clarion voice, and the intense and sincere earnestness, claim more than unrivaled interest. They stir the emotions and form the judgments which control caucus, convention and election.

WILLIAM KITTLE.

Madison, Wis.

J. N. ADAM: A MUNICIPAL LEADER OF THE NEW TIME.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

I. THE STORM-CENTERS IN THE PRESENT BATTLE FOR CIVIC RIGHT-EOUSNESS.

IT IS A significant and to us a very hopeful fact that the present nationwide moral awakening finds its efficient storm-centers in our great municipalities that have long been the most active centers of political corruption, graft and civic degradation. So long as corruption is firmly entrenched in the great cities, the voice of the people throughout the commonwealths can be easily negated by corrupt practices, padded election lists, stuffed ballot-boxes and criminal lawlessness such as long marked the elections in Philadelphia and such as was so strikingly in evidence at the last municipal election in New York City.

From the days when the public-service corporations began to enter politics for the purpose of securing for the enrichment of the few the immensely valuable franchises that would give them control of the natural monopolies or public utilities which belong of right to the cities or the people and should always be owned and operated by the people for the benefit of the whole community, the great cities have more and more fallen into the grip of the criminal classes—the criminal rich public-service magnates and their venal tools who under the political boss manned the money-controlled machines and filled municipal governments. Shrewd and intellectually keen men who were wholly wanting in the noble public spirit, moral rectitude and civic idealism that marked the infant days of the Republic and that

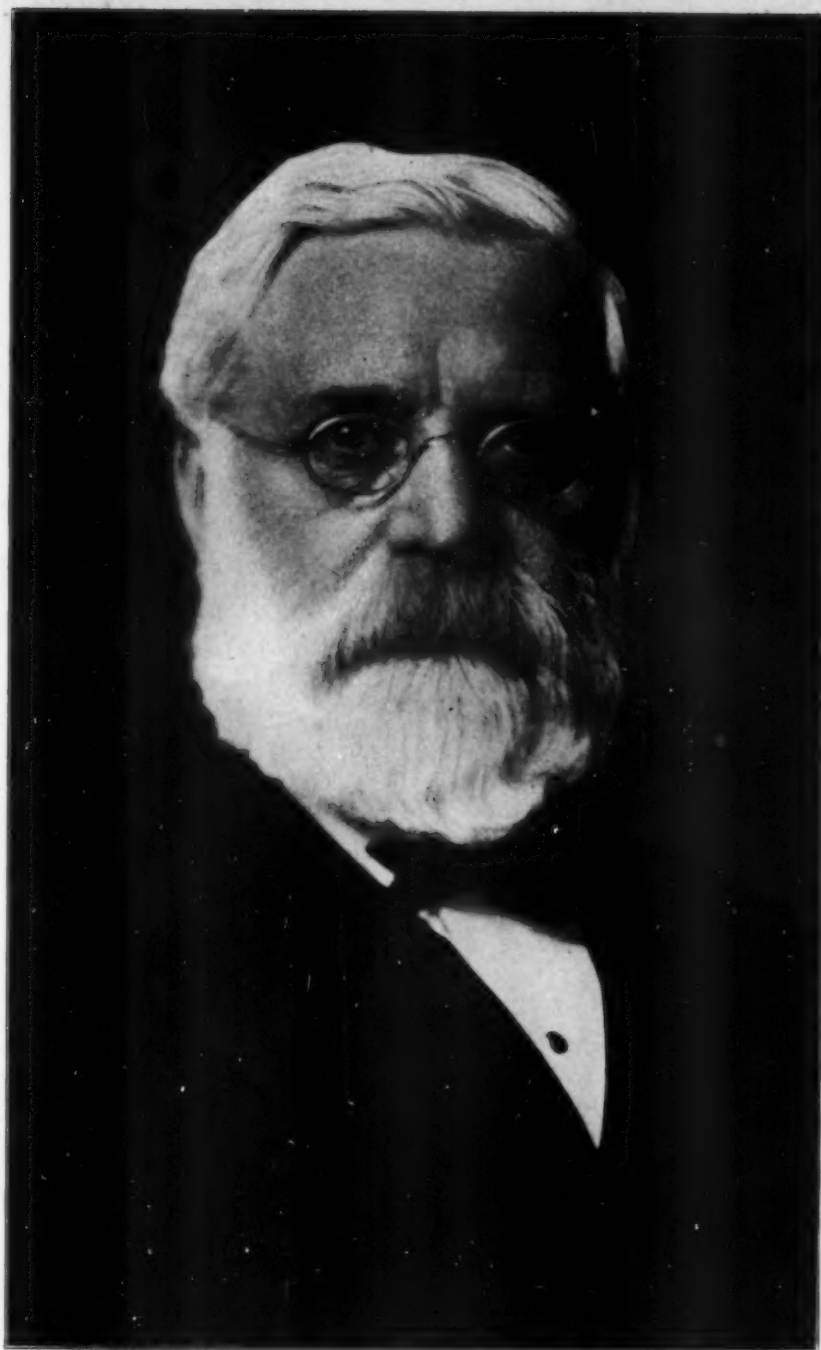


Photo. by E. J. Hall, Buffalo, N. Y.

HON. J. N. ADAM

THE ARENA



made our nation the moral leader of the world, early realized that if private corporations could obtain franchises that would enable them to establish monopolies in public utilities, such as street-railways, gas, electric lighting, etc., they would have both the cities and the citizens at their mercy and in effect become possessed of vast mines of wealth incomparably richer than the great bonanza gold-claims that had made millionaires, because every passing year would add greatly to the income, while through watering their stock and other practices familiar to the broadcloth gambling fraternity of Wall street they could levy extortionate prices on the multitude and manipulate their stocks so as to give the few Monte Christo-like fortunes.

Seeing these enormous possibilities for acquiring unearned wealth, they were quick to act, gaining control of unscrupulous political bosses and pushing to the front men who would be responsive to their desires and who would permit them to select or pass on the persons who were to be chosen for the people to vote upon. In this way and by enormous corruption funds contributed for campaign purposes and other uses, it was not long before the great cities became the prey of highly respectable bands of moral criminals—gentlemen in broadcloth who as presidents of banks, directors in insurance companies, railway magnates, express company officials and officers in other leading enterprises, stood as the very pillars in the business and social world. And these men, by the aid of the municipal and state bosses, reinforced by shrewd lawyers who received princely incomes, astute lobbyists supplied with enormous corruption funds, and hirelings in the city and state government, together with the pressure they knew so well how to bring to bear upon the press, pulpit and school, were able to secure for absolutely nothing or next to nothing grants and special privileges that are to-day diverting into a few scores of pockets hundreds of millions of dollars from public utilities which

in the hands of the American cities and operated by the people, as is the case in Manchester, Birmingham, Glasgow and scores of other Old-World cities, would be to-day blessing the millions in our municipalities by giving better public service at greatly reduced cost, while the revenue, even after such reductions would substantially lessen taxes. This claim is no unfounded opinion. It is based on the actual results that have followed municipal-ownership and operation in Great Britain, Germany and other foreign nations, and of the public lighting plants of Detroit, Michigan, Duluth, Minnesota, Jacksonville, Florida, and other cities of the New World. Indeed, we believe such results have followed in every instance where public-ownership and operation has been fairly or honestly tried or where the backbone of private corporations operating public utilities has been sufficiently broken to enable the people to overthrow the corrupt machine and official tools whose presence in municipal life had been due to the public-service corporations. In recent years the corruption in American cities has had its fountain-head in the criminal rich and not in the criminal poor. The latter were merely powerful by reason of the wealth and power of the master-spirits behind the scenes who rendered the bosses and their tools invincible and insured them from punishment for crimes against the ballot and other corrupt and lawless practices.

The strength and power of Durham in Philadelphia were due to the highly respectable moral criminals who had plundered the city of her street-car franchises, her gas rights and numerous other invaluable privileges. So in St. Louis, Boss Butler, like Durham, was able to make elections a farce and a by-word because of the enormous wealth he drew from the privileged interests and the princely bribes paid by the street-car officials and other public-service magnates for turning over to the corrupt grafters the enormously valuable public

franchises. And what has been made so obvious in Philadelphia and St. Louis has been true in greater or lesser degree of all the great American municipalities.

Against this riot of criminality and extortion Mayor H. M. Pingree raised his voice in protest. He was a pioneer in the warfare for civic righteousness and in the battle against the great and powerful thieves who had filched from the cities their greatest wealth-yielding prizes. Detroit is far from being a free city yet, but the progressive steps she has taken toward civic emancipation were due to the moral awakening occasioned by the movement inaugurated by Mayor Pingree.

Next came Mayor Tom L. Johnson, overcoming the great machine majority of Cleveland and calling a halt in the systematic raids of the plunderers. No city official in America has done more to arouse a healthy, honest civic spirit in municipal life or to demonstrate to the people the insane folly and moral criminality of turning over to private interests public utilities than has Cleveland's high-minded, incorruptible and aggressively honest mayor; and no man in America has struck more telling blows against the debauching union of corrupt political machines and the criminal rich of the great public-service corporations than has Mayor Johnson.

After Mayor Johnson came County-Attorney Folk, a veritable David in the camp of the Philistines. He carried the work forward by uncovering the nest of villains at work, taking them red-handed as it were by seizing over \$100,000 of corruption money put up by the street-car corporations to debauch the council and through this corruption rob the city of franchises worth millions of dollars. Mr. Folk secured evidence and confessions of criminality that enabled him to convict numbers of great rogues, from the boss down.

The revolt in Chicago and later in Philadelphia, in which the masses have rallied against the respectable but criminal rich for the honor of the city and to

secure honest government, is typical of the new awakening. The movement for municipal emancipation and the establishment of efficient public service under popular rule in the place of corrupt government in the interests of privileged classes, by machine rule, is spreading all over the country.

One of the latest and most striking victories won for good government has been achieved in the rich and populous city of Buffalo, where a civic leader who already looms large on the horizon of American life, having been elected as chief magistrate, has inaugurated a programme of progress and civic efficiency that reflects the highest honor and credit on the new mayor and the people who are so enthusiastically holding up his hands.

II. J. N. ADAM, THE MAN.

The Mayor of Buffalo, up to three years ago, had been for many years the head of one of the largest dry-goods department stores in Buffalo. He was born in Scotland in 1842. His father was a Scotch clergyman, and his early education was obtained in Edinburgh. When twelve years of age he was apprenticed in a small tin-ware and notion establishment, receiving one dollar a week for the first three years and \$1.50 a week for the fourth year. The fifth and last year of his apprenticeship he earned two dollars a week. He began as a delivery or bundle boy but afterwards became a clerk. Later with a friend he established a business for himself, but in 1872 he came to Buffalo, New York, at the suggestion of his brother Robert, who wrote from that city describing the superior opportunities offered in America to young men of push, business ability and integrity. Mr. Adam soon displayed a remarkable aptitude for managing large concerns. He was industrious, temperate, honorable, alert and progressive; hence he soon achieved a pronounced success in business. He learned to love America without losing

his affection for the hills and lochs of his native land, and without engaging actively in public life he ever strove to elevate civic ideals.

He is a true democrat, using that term in its broadest and noblest signification as one who has faith in the people, as one who believes in putting into practice the bed-rock principles that differentiate a democracy from a government by class-rule. "In any case of doubt," says Mayor Adam, "leave it to the people"; and in this, one of his favorite maxims, we see the true democrat.

Not only does he believe in Direct-Legislation, but like other broad-visioned and practical thinkers who are not interested in private corporations or who are not beholden to those who are, and who have also studied the subject sufficiently to decide intelligently, Mayor Adam is a strong believer in public-ownership.

He entered politics by one of those seeming accidents that so frequently prove the turning-points in one's life. It was in 1895. The Democrats wanted a strong and influential man for councilman in a certain district. No one suggested seemed to measure sufficiently large to make success even probable. One of the politicians strolled to the window of the room in which the conference was being held and looking out he caught sight of the erect figure of the great Buffalo merchant walking down the street.

"Why not nominate J. N. Adam?" said the man at the window.

"The very person!" exclaimed another.

And so he was nominated. He protested, urging that he was a business man and not a politician. "The very kind of man who is needed," urged his friends, and his sense of duty to the common good or civic responsibility led him to accept. He was elected and since then he has been in the council or on the board of aldermen ever since, until he was elected last autumn to be the chief magistrate of the city.

In the city government he was in a hopeless minority, as the Republicans

controlled everything, but this did not prevent him from boldly fighting for the best interests of the city; and he displayed such business foresight and sagacity, such a sense of fairness coupled with aggressive honesty, regardless of what the privileged classes desired, that he won the confidence of the rank and file to such a degree that when nominated for mayor last autumn he turned the Republican majority of ten thousand into a Democratic majority of ten thousand, or an overturn of twenty thousand votes in the city.

III. AS MAYOR OF BUFFALO.

Mr. Adam was in Scotland when the political forces began to prepare for the municipal contest. He reached Buffalo a short time before the nominating convention assembled. By common consent he had been selected as the standard-bearer not only of the Democrats but of the people who placed good government and loyalty to the fundamental ideals of free institutions above partisanship.

He announced his platform to be Honesty *versus* Graft. A grafter he defined as a thief in disguise. After his nomination he went before the people speaking from three to five times every day, explaining the evils and weaknesses of the municipal government and insisting that a great municipality should be conducted as a great business enterprise, for the benefit of all the interested ones, which in the case of the city meant all the people, and that it should not be run for a set of favored politicians, corporations or any other class seeking special privileges and unjust immunities.

The Republican party and the corporations waged a vigorous battle, bringing all their forces to bear to defeat this man in whom the people believed much as in other days the masses had believed in Jefferson and in Lincoln. But all the resources of the machine and the corporations were unable to defeat the will of the people. The magnitude of the victory,

however, astounded those who had long held the people in contempt.

After the election the successful candidate, having about two months before he assumed office, visited various leading American municipalities in order to personally study conditions and to confer with leading officials. When he returned he forestalled the office-seeking army by announcing the names of those he expected to appoint to various offices that would become vacant during his term, and in every instance it was found that he had been guided by the same general principles that would have governed him if he had been managing a great private business instead of a municipality; that is, he selected only the men he believed would be the best qualified to render the city the most efficient and unselfish service, without regard to politics or any other consideration save the giving to the city of the most efficient and honest service. He also displayed great wisdom in giving representatives of different sections of the people fair representation, so that all elements should be justly considered.

He gave fair warning to all grafters that he would do his utmost to have them receive such punishment as the enemies of the state deserve. On the subject of official duty and of faithlessness to the solemn obligation imposed upon them he said:

"Every public official should be interested in keeping the conduct of affairs free from the giving or taking of anything to which the giver or taker is not honestly entitled—or in one word, graft. I believe graft should be scotched by not only arresting and trying, but by convicting and imprisoning the grafter, whether he be an office-holder or not.

"Disguise should not be permitted to keep a thief out of jail, and a grafter is a thief in disguise. I will do all in my power to put any grafting public official not only out of office, but into jail. I will do all in my power to expose and pun-

ish bribery or corruption or any attempt to wrongfully control or influence the conduct of our public affairs, no matter how high or low the wrongdoer may be.

"I hope and trust no necessity for such use of power ever will arise, but if it does I will act fearlessly, doing my full duty in accord with my oath of office, and shall expect the coöperation of all public officials and of all good citizens."

When the Mayor assumed the office, he found that the city employes were in many instances slack in their duties but over-alert to get more pay than was due for any over-time service. He changed all this by example and precept. Every day he is at his post at eight o'clock in the morning, and he let the employes understand once and for all that they were expected to serve the city just as faithfully as they would serve a private employer, and if they were not prepared to do this others would take their places.

In his inaugural message, among other strong and brave words, the Mayor attacked the swindling of the city out of taxes on millions of dollars' worth of property by the public-service corporations, through the connivance of the State Board of Tax Commissioners.

It matters not where one looks in the state government of New York since the Platt-Odell-Harriman-Root-Ryan-Higgins elements have become the dominant power in the Empire State, the corporations and special privilege grafters seem to have absolute control. The insurance department, with its Hendricks at the head, has been fully exposed, but so rotten is the state government that the faithless head was not summarily removed. The bank department became so malodorous and such a crying scandal that it seemed for a time that even Governor Higgins and his confederates would be unable to head off an investigation, and there was general consternation among the master-spirits of the Root-Ryan-Higgins machine at Washington and Albany, no less than among the high financiers,

and word came from Washington that a public investigation would be a public calamity, so in spite of the scandal the investigation was refused. The State Tax Commission seems to be equally complacent to the public-service corporations, judging from the facts brought out in Mayor Adam's message and subsequent revelations. The public-service companies of Buffalo are taxed on only \$14,000,000 of property, although the stocks and bonds of one corporation exceed \$30,000,000. The city of Buffalo was not notified when there was to be a public hearing at Albany before the Commission, though the corporations were all duly notified, but the city found out when the hearing was to be held and sent the Corporation Counsel and the Commissioner of Public Works. The trip was fruitless, however, as the officials found when they reached Albany that "everything had been cut and dried." In referring to the subject the Mayor in his message said:

"In the matter of special franchises, we find ourselves at the mercy of the Board of State Tax Commissioners, a body which fixes the valuations and whose course at times has caused us almost to wonder if they regarded Buffalo as aught but a place for immune corporations."

In commenting on the shameful action of the State Tax Commission in placing the valuation for all public utility corporation property at \$14,000,000, the Mayor said:

"The people of the city resent such proceedings. Such conduct of public affairs is fit subject for legislative investigation, and I believe that legislative enactment not only should require the State Tax Commission to hear the City, but also to take into account the capitalization and selling value of each corporation in making the franchise valuations. The valuation of special franchises is not a lottery or a matter of chance. It

is an important business matter affecting vitally the financial welfare of our City."

The Mayor next showed how the public-service companies dodged paying a part of the taxes on the pitifully low valuation that the State Commission had obligingly given them.

As before stated, the new chief executive of Buffalo is a strong believer in public-ownership. In his message he says:

"Municipal-ownership is coming surely, and recent developments in cities throughout the country indicate it is coming swiftly. In Buffalo it may arrive sooner than expected."

The Mayor had the Comptroller insert an item of \$250,000 in estimates for a municipal lighting and power-plant, in conformity with the vote of the people favorable to the establishment of a public lighting and power-plant. The faithless Board of Aldermen, however, struck out the item, in spite of the fact that the people had voted for the municipal plant and the majority of the aldermen, we also understand, had prior to the election pledged themselves to carry out the will of the people.

In his message Mayor Adam thus voices his sentiments on the Referendum:

"A symptom of the attitude of our citizens on the question of municipal-ownership is found in the referendum vote on the lighting question. I believe in the Referendum. It means more direct and more frequent instructions from our citizens to their public servants."

He is very outspoken in his advocacy of this necessary method for maintaining free government, agreeing with Governor Folk, Mayor Johnson and other popular leaders, that the hope of free institutions depends on getting back to the people, which can be done only by breaking the backbone of the present corrupt rule of corporate wealth through criminal bosses and money-controlled machines, by giv-

ing the people an opportunity to instruct their servants or to veto measures which are as clearly against the wishes and interests of the people as they are in the interest of corrupt corporations and privileged classes. He believes in direct responsibility to the people and he has no sympathy with the attitude of our grafting statesmen who are the tools and attorneys of the trusts, monopolies and class interests. "Public office," he declares, "is not a private graft. Our municipal affairs are the business of the people of this city. I am answerable to the people and I would rather be answerable to 400,000 people than to one boss. You can trust the people."

The Mayor is a strong champion of education and is actively engaged in the effort being made to extend and enlarge the University of Buffalo, an institution

which he hopes to see become one of the most effective of the higher educational institutions of the land.

He is a great reader and much of his keenest pleasure comes from the perusal of the master-thoughts of our noblest thinkers. He is a great lover of the poems of Robert Browning, although Robertson of Brighton is said to be his favorite author.

In Mayor Adam the forces of fundamental democracy, clean government and civic advance have another strong leader—a man of the Lincoln stamp, whose aggressive honesty, large business ability and loyalty to the interests of the people place him in the class of American municipal leaders of whom Mayor Johnson of Cleveland is the pioneer and honored leader.

Boston, Mass.

B. O. FLOWER.

BRITISH EGYPT.

By ERNEST CROSBY,

Late Judge of the Mixed Tribunal at Alexandria.

PART I.

IN A RECENT Blue Book on Egypt,* Lord Cromer devotes several pages to a recapitulation of the recent history of that country, and he expresses himself with a frankness that does him credit. "In 1882," says he, "a serious revolution took place in Egypt. I use the word revolution advisedly. The idea, which at the time obtained a certain amount of credence, that the Arabi movement was a military mutiny and nothing more, is wholly erroneous. It was, in its essence, a genuine revolt against misgovernment, such as has frequently happened in other countries. It may, in so far as its broad

features are concerned, be condemned or justified by the arguments ordinarily used in condemnation or justification of those who attempt by violent means to effect radical changes in the form in which their country is governed." Lord Milner, formerly Undersecretary for Finance at Cairo, gave the same character to Arabi's rebellion eight years or more ago in his work on *England in Egypt*. "Their first object," he tells us (that is, of "Arabi and his associates"), "... were neither unreasonable nor blameworthy." (Page 18.) "The European concession-hunter and loan-monger, the Greek publican and pawnbroker, the Jewish and Syrian money-lender and land-grabber, who could always with ease obtain the 'protection' of some European power, had battered on the Egyptian treasury and the poor Egyptian cultivator to an almost

* *Egypt*, No. 1, 1905. *Reports by His Majesty's Agent and Consul-General on the Finances, Administration and Condition of Egypt and the Soudan in 1904*, presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of His Majesty, April, 1905.

incredible extent. In a very great measure then there was reason in the onslaught upon European privilege, and even in the ominous and misleading watch-cry of 'Egypt for the Egyptians.'" The concurrence of two such authorities as Lord Cromer and Lord Milner must be held to establish once for all the justification of the rising of 1882, and to put an end to the vulgar belief which long survived in the British colony in Egypt that Arabi was a reckless and criminal adventurer who should have been summarily hanged. The opinion of both these noble historians that Arabi could not have been safely entrusted with the government of the country in no wise detracts from the initial purity of his motives. This official admission of the just character of an insurrection, the suppression of which gave Great Britain the opportunity to take possession of the Delta, seems to cast something of a cloud upon the title of that country, and invites a discussion of all the circumstances which led up to the final subjection of the khedivate to the British crown. By what right is England in Egypt and what are the main functions which she is performing there? To answer these questions briefly is the object of this paper.

Egypt is history. Just as in some countries the edges of geological strata are so laid bare that the trained eye can spell them out like the ruled lines of a manuscript, so on the banks of the lower Nile the records of human history have been so accumulated, preserved and uncovered that he that runs may read. Not only do the ruins of temple, tomb and mosque speak of Pharaoh and Ptolemy, Cæsar and Saladin,—not only do we see in the museum of Gizeh the actual life-like bodies of Seti and Rameses, and those of their servants and domestic animals, and the jewelry and household utensils which they wore and used, but in the living men and women of to-day, in the fellah and his beasts of burden, we behold the ancient sculptures come to life

again. The modern Egyptian cat, for instance, is like no other cat in the world. He seems to have stepped down from some temple-wall, and the camel, it has been well said, is older than the pyramids.

If it be true that ancient history predominates in the land of the Pharaohs, it is no less true that modern history has not altogether passed it by. Alexander and Cæsar visited Alexandria, but so did Napoleon, and indeed this is the only spot in the world associated with all three of the great commanders. For many years Mohammed Ali attracted the attention of the world to the Nile Valley, and during the last quarter of the nineteenth century the storm-center of Christendom and of Islam was never long absent from its banks. We have at last come to a point of rest. The Soudan has been reconquered and occupied by England in the name of the Khedive, the intention of remaining in Egypt permanently has been acknowledged at Westminster, and the unaccustomed lull which has set in at the beginning of the twentieth century affords an opportunity to investigate at leisure the latest deposits which the rise and fall of empire have left in this remarkable land.

It was Napoleon who drew Great Britain into Egypt a century ago. Unfortunately for him the works of Captain Mahan had not then been written, and he hardly appreciated the importance of the sea-power. Egypt is practically an island, surrounded by water and desert, and armies are useless there for the purpose of keeping open the way to the base of supplies or of retreat, unless supported by a dominant naval force. The French defeated the Mamelukes, but when Nelson destroyed their fleet in the Bay of Aboukir, they were obliged to evacuate. England might then have taken possession of the Delta, had it not been for the rise of a daring young Albanian adventurer, Mohammed Ali Pasha, who secured the governorship of the country for himself and defeated their army at Rosetta, and the heads of General Frazer, the British

commander, and those of several of his officers were displayed on poles at Cairo. Mohammed Ali made his leadership secure by massacring the Mamelukes. He and his son Ibrahim Pasha, assisted by Suleiman Pasha, a Frenchman who had fought at Waterloo, eventually took Acre, subdued Syria and were on the eve of advancing on Constantinople, when England interfered, and the great Pasha agreed to confine his rule to the African continent. His sway there was undisputed, and England for many years indulged in no further dreams with reference to the Egyptian Pashalic.

It affords a curious illustration of the interdependence of modern nations as a result of commerce to ascertain that the domestic affairs of the United States of America were the primary cause of the present occupation of Egypt by Great Britain, but such is the fact. The blockade of the Confederate ports by the Northern navy put a stop to the exportation of cotton from America, and it became necessary for European mills to find their supply somewhere else. This new demand made itself felt at once in Egypt, where the best cotton in the world is raised, save only the very restricted Sea Island cotton crop of the Carolinas, for Egyptian cotton has a much longer staple than the ordinary American cotton, and an ever-increasing amount of it is imported into America for that reason. The price of cotton consequently went up rapidly in the early sixties, to supply the lack of the American article, the production of cotton was stimulated and extended and the country entered upon an era of prosperity theretofore unknown, and which soon made itself felt in a plentiful revenue for the government. Ismail Pasha succeeded to the government in 1863, at the very height of this wave of abundance. Grandson of Mohammed Ali, son of the great general, Ibrahim, he had inherited a strong character, but it had been spoiled by a semi-foreign education. Affable in manner, he was at heart an Oriental despot in spite of his

thin veneer of Parisian vices. With his treasury full, he acted as if he were possessed of the lamp of Aladdin and the purse of Fortunatus. Ambitious to rival the magnificence of European capitals, totally unable to appreciate the value of money, a spendthrift by nature, he made his reign a prolonged orgy of extravagance. He built a score of lath-and-plaster palaces, which are already far more ruined than the temples of the Pharaohs, and he paid for them as if they had been marble. He bought expensive machinery for sugar-mills and other industrial enterprises, and left it to rot unused. He spent ninety million dollars and thousands of lives on the Suez canal, which damaged Egypt by enabling the commerce of the world to pass through without stopping. He spent large sums in bribes at Constantinople, his new title of Khedive and the hereditary right to the throne costing him roundly. Cairo became the Mecca of the adventurers and swindlers of Europe, and when Ismail was slow to pay, the consuls-general of the great Christian Powers made him do so. With utter disregard of the position of the Egyptian taxpayer, the representatives of the governments of Europe deliberately permitted their fellow-subjects to engage the Egyptian government in extortionate contracts, and then used all their power to exact every farthing nominated in the bond. The results were soon evident enough, although the Powers paid no attention to them. General Gordon estimated at one time that the Khedive was paying thirty-six per cent. interest. *The national debt in 1863, when Ismail became Pasha, was fifteen million dollars. In 1876 it was four hundred and forty-five millions. It had increased thirtyfold in thirteen years!* This meant a debt of seventy-five dollars for every man, woman and child of the six millions of population of that day, while the average cost of living for each individual was only five cents a day apiece. A man therefore who spent less than nineteen dollars a year for his own

support was obliged to pay the interest on seventy-five dollars in taxes, besides his share of the cost of government. Lord Milner tells us how much less than the face of the loans included in this debt was received by the Khedive. The Openheim loan of 1873 for the nominal sum of thirty-two million pounds sterling brought only twenty millions into the treasury, and probably seventeen millions is nearer the true figure. The balance had already disappeared in rake-offs to the distinguished usurers who managed the job. Lord Milner's estimate is that only ten per cent. of the Egyptian national debt was used on works of permanent utility, but this is surely an optimistic view of the situation. And the Powers either participated in this international knavery, or at best sat by consenting. Hard-pressed by his creditors Ismail disposed of the Egyptian shares in the Suez Canal to D'Israeli for the British Government for twenty million dollars. A few years ago they were worth ninety millions. It was a neat piece of business which ought to entitle the United Kingdom to quarter the bearings of the Medici on her coat-of-arms. England had put every possible obstacle in the way of building the Canal which Egypt built. But Egypt paid the bills and England got the profit.

Ismail at last understood the situation, but he was unable to curb his extravagant tastes. He had some sense of humor, however, which may have relieved the gloom a little. "Close that window behind his Excellency," he is reported to have said to a servant, while he was conversing with some official European visitor. "If he should catch cold, I might have a big claim for damages on my hands!" I heard another story which goes to show his prodigality, but for the truth of which I cannot vouch. He told one of his attendants that he would like to have "Schneider" come to Cairo. It so happened that there were two Schneiders, one an actress, whom the Khedive had intended, and the other an agent for

a manufactory of fire-arms. The attendant misunderstood his master, and sent for the latter. When this gentleman was ushered in, the Khedive at once appreciated the error, and without hesitation gave a large order for rifles which were not at all needed. So great was the courtesy of his Highness! He tried to make the opera at Cairo surpass that of other capitals, and he outbid St. Petersburg and Vienna to secure stars for its stage. "Aïda" was specially composed for it, and was one of the features of the mad revel of extravagance which marked the reception of the Empress Eugénie in 1869 upon the opening of the Suez Canal. Obscure indeed was the public man who could not obtain an invitation to those festivities and a free pass to everything. Champagne ran like water, new roads and palaces were constructed, and the fellah had to pay for it all. Ismail had in office nearly thirteen hundred Europeans, most of whom held sinecures and were only active in drawing their salaries. M. G. Mulhall, the well-known statistician, in his *Dictionary of Statistics* (tit. Finance, subtit. Egypt) says: "The nine loans effected between 1862 and 1880 represented nominally seventy-seven millions sterling, but produced only £50,589,000, the difference being lost in discounts and other unavoidable drawbacks," and he is quoted as saying elsewhere that British contractors charged as much as eighty per cent. profits on Egyptian public-works during this period. The Egyptian national debt on December 31, 1904, was £101,275,340. If the sums included in this enormous debt had been borrowed at par and at six per cent. interest per annum, it would have been entirely paid off by the amounts already paid under the head of interest, and yet the Egyptian people are still forced to pay interest on this unholy debt and the full principal is still held due against them.

None of the statesmen of Europe showed any interest in the scandalous condition of affairs in Egypt until it became difficult to collect the interest on

he bonds. Ismail might do what he pleased to force money out of his subjects for the purpose of meeting his obligations to the swindlers of Europe, but that was nobody's business but his own. When, however, the payment of interest was delayed, the situation took a new aspect and the righteous indignation of the Powers began to kindle. Mr. Goschen, now Lord Goschen, was sent out with M. Joubert in 1876, by the bondholders, to put Egyptian finances into shape and they arranged a plan which however proved too onerous and was followed only for a short time. Then the estates of the Khedive and of his family were hypothecated and with this security Mr. Rivers Wilson went to Paris and negotiated a loan of eight millions and a half sterling, upon which it is said there was a discount of twenty-seven per cent. Wilson is reported to have retained a commission of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the nominal sum, thus receiving £212,000, that is, over a million dollars, for his services. The Khedive Ismail was unable to adapt himself to the rôle of prince of a bankrupt country. He had always been a spendthrift and he could not learn frugality. It was useless to remodel the Egyptian finances, so long as the leakage continued, and finally in 1879, moved by the complaints of European bondholders, England and France intervened and deposed the Khedive, setting up his son, Tewfik, in his place. Mr. Goschen on behalf of England and M. Joubert on behalf of France took hold of the finances, and what is known as the Dual Control of these two Powers began.

The fact was that the taxpayers of Egypt, the fellaheen peasants who have always lived in grinding poverty and worked like slaves, were now being pressed beyond their power to respond, and their discontent began to make itself audible. It was natural that the educated natives of the pasha class should begin to resent the presence of foreign tax-gatherers, and that Arabi, an officer in the Egyptian army and standing high

in ministerial circles, should undertake with the aid of his friends to put himself at the head of a revolt. It is unnecessary to recite the "Events" as they are called in Egypt to this day. Arabi gathered a force and took possession of the venerable fortifications of Alexandria. The fleets of the Powers were sent to the neighborhood to watch the issue, and as many as possible of the foreign residents took refuge upon their respective men-of-war. The British government, nominally supporting the government of the Khedive, ordered their fleet to bombard the forts and invited the French fleet to join with them, but under instructions from Paris the French vessels withdrew. On July 11, 1882, the British ships went into action and without any difficulty or appreciable loss demolished the fortifications, which were totally unfit to withstand modern ordnance. The guns in the forts were also out-of-date and the men who manned them were unskilled and inefficient. The contest under the circumstances hardly deserved the name of a battle. When the fortifications lay in ruins the unruly classes in the city formed mobs, and set buildings on fire and the best portion of Alexandria was swept by flames. The marines on the American men-of-war which were in the offing were sent on shore and succeeded in restoring quiet and putting an end to the conflagration. Meanwhile Arabi's routed forces retired southward. To follow up her success upon the water, England now organized a land-force under Sir Garnet Wolseley and sent it into the Delta to complete her triumph by annihilating the army of Arabi. This expedition engaged the native forces at Tel el Kebir on September 13, 1882, and fully accomplished its purpose. When we remember that the Egyptians were imperfectly armed, drilled and commanded, and that the British army had all the advantages which skill, science and wealth could give it, it will be readily seen that this widely-heralded victory was not much to boast of. Sir Garnet

was nevertheless created a viscount by way of reward, the same honor that Nelson received for all his great victories up to his death at Trafalgar. Arabi's army completely disappeared after this defeat, its survivors quietly going back to their homes, and England took possession of Egypt in the name of the Khedive Tewfik, who ever afterwards loyally supported her influence. British "under-secretaries" were placed in charge of each ministry, under a native figure-head, British officers were assigned to all the leading posts in the army, and the British Diplomatic Agent and Consul-General, Sir Evelyn Baring, now Lord Cromer, has ever since been the actual ruler of

the country under the British Government. If the action of France in refusing to bombard Alexandria could be attributed in any way to sympathy with the cause of the natives or disapproval of foreign intervention on any moral ground, it would be a pleasure to record the fact, but unfortunately such is not the case. The French Government was vacillating and undetermined. They hoped that England might get involved in some mistake by which they could profit, and they have never ceased to regret that on that day in July, 1882, they permitted England to proceed alone.

(To be continued.)

Rhinebeck, N. Y. ERNEST CROSBY.

DIRECT PRIMARIES.

BY IRA CROSS.

THE STORY of politics in the United States is the recital of a continuous struggle on the part of the people to obtain control of the political machinery of the nation.

It was thought that the introduction of the Australian ballot would inaugurate a millennium in the political world, and it did work a partial reform. Political bosses could no longer march the voters to election-booths in gangs of "tens" and "twelves" and force them to cast the ballots which had been thrust into their hands. But this reform only caused the professional politician to transfer his activities from the election-booth to the caucus and the convention. If he could control these and nominate the candidates of all parties, it was immaterial to him whom the people elected.

And what has been the result?

To-day we find that the caucus and convention no longer express the popular will. Delegates have become the main-shafts of political machines. Corporate wealth and influence dictate the policies

of the dominant parties, while candidates and office-holders, instead of being responsible to the voters, are responsible to the boss and the ring which nominate them.

All attempts at reforming the caucus and the convention have resulted in dismal failures. New York, California, and Cook county, Illinois, which have the most highly legalized caucus-systems, are still boss-ridden and machine-controlled.

There can be but one remedy,—the government must be brought back to the people. They must be given the power to directly nominate their party-candidates. If they are sufficiently intelligent to directly elect them by means of the Australian ballot, they are sufficiently intelligent to directly nominate them.

Experience with the Direct Primary in thirty-two states, where it is now being used in one form or other, shows that every good Direct Primary law, whether applied to city, county or state, must have the following five essentials: (1) It must

be compulsory upon all parties; (2) the Australian Ballot must be used; (3) all primaries must be held under state regulations; (4) the state must bear the expense; (5) all parties must hold their primaries at the same place and time. Under a system of Direct Nominations, one of the registration days is set aside for the primary. The voter goes to the polls, registers, receives a ballot containing a list of the candidates, and votes directly for the men of his choice. Nothing could be more simple in operation than this. It places in the hands of the voters the power to nominate *their* party-candidates, and in all sane governments that is where it should be placed.

The real tests of any nominating system, however, are (1) the number of voters that take part in the primaries, and (2) the kind of candidates nominated.

Under the caucus-system, no matter how highly legalized, the voters will not take part in making the nominations. They are not even interested, for in the caucuses they do not nominate candidates, they only elect delegates, and a delegate, no matter how honest he may be, cannot correctly represent the wishes of his constituents upon all, and quite often not even upon a small portion, of the candidates to be nominated in the convention. Do the facts uphold the argument? Take the caucus-system at its best and what do we find? In San Francisco, New York city, and Cook county, Illinois, which places since 1901, 1900, and 1899 respectively, have had the most highly legalized and reformed caucus-systems in the United States, an average of but 39 per cent. of the voters of San Francisco, 41 per cent. of those in New York, and 38 per cent. of those in Cook county, Illinois, take part in making nominations. If but this small number of people attend the caucuses when such great care is taken to protect the voice and the will of the people, what a handful must turn out in those states in which few if any legal regulations are thrown around the nominating machinery! Under the cau-

cus-system the resulting government cannot represent the will of the majority. It can only represent the will of the minority, and it is to this small minority (composed though it usually is of men who are in politics for what there is in it) that our officials are directly responsible, not only for their nomination but also for their subsequent election.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that the Direct Primary greatly increases the attendance at the primaries. The reason for this is that it gives the voters a real voice in making party nominations. They can express their choice upon all candidates from governor down to justice of the peace, and by this means are able to exert a direct influence upon the final results.

In Cleveland, Ohio, under the old caucus-system, only 5,000 voters took part in nominating the Republican candidates for city offices in 1892, but in 1893, when they used one of the most poorly-framed and extra-legal primary systems imaginable, over 14,000 Republicans turned out. This number increased to 23,000 in 1896, to 28,000 in 1899, and to 31,000 in 1901, the vote at the primaries during these years averaging more than 95 per cent. of the vote cast by the Republicans at the subsequent elections. In Crawford county, Pennsylvania, where the Direct Primary has been used since 1860, the average attendance at the primaries has been more than 73 per cent. In the 25th Congressional District, where the system has been used since 1890, 77 per cent. of the voters have made the nominations. Even where there was no contest, as was the case in 1894 and 1900, more than 62 per cent. of the voters attended the primaries. What other portion of the United States can show such a record as this? "In Minneapolis," writes Mr. Day of that city, "under a highly legalized caucus-system, but 8 per cent. of the voters attended the caucuses." Under the Direct Primary, however, 91 per cent. of the voters attended in 1900, 85 per cent. in

1902, an off-year, and 93 per cent. in 1904. In Hennepin county, Minnesota, in 1904, over 97 per cent. of the voters took part in making congressional nominations. In the same year the returns from eighteen counties, scattered indiscriminately throughout Minnesota (all the returns that could be obtained), showed that over 72 per cent. of the voters took part in the primaries. These figures show most conclusively that the difficulty is not the apathy of the people. Their civic patriotism is as strong as it has ever been in years past. They are interested in the government and will attend the primaries, if they are but given the opportunity to directly nominate their party candidates. The difficulty lies with the caucus-system. It is indirect and inefficient.

Now let us see if there are any reasons why better men should be nominated under the Direct Primary than under the caucus and convention system.

In the first place it must be conceded that the majority of the people are honest and that they want good government and honest officials. Under the Direct Primary they can make this desire felt more effectively. They can exercise two vetoes upon any attempt to foist bad candidates upon the public, once at the primary, and again at the election. But under the caucus-system they have no choice at the caucuses, while upon election it is usually a choice between two evils, between two machine-made candidates, and this is one reason why there is such an appallingly large stay-at-home vote upon election-day.

In the second place, who is it that so bitterly antagonizes the Direct Primary? Most assuredly it is not the people! It is the same class of men that twenty years ago fought the introduction of the Australian ballot! The *St. Paul Pioneer Press* of March 17, 1904, said: "The machine-men have never liked the primary. They fought it from the start and they continue to sneer at it." The *ARENA* of August, 1904, also said: "It is need-

less to say that the grafters and the corruptionists, all indeed who have been engaged in debauching the people's servants, are bitterly hostile to the primary." Why is it that the politicians have suddenly become so solicitous about the welfare of the public, claiming, as they do, that the introduction of the Direct Primary would be detrimental to the best interests of the people? Why is it that they fight it so strenuously? It is because they realize that they cannot control the seventy or eighty per cent. of the voters who turn out to the primaries as they dictate to the twenty per cent. who attend the caucuses. They realize that under it their power to dominate the political arena would be gone, that they could not prevent the candidacy of good men. The Direct Primary introduces "the principle of free, open competition, where before all was secrecy, scheming and log-rolling. It enables any man to become a candidate without currying favor with the boss and the ring by methods which trench upon his self-respect." The natural result is that better men come out for the nomination under the Direct Primary than under the caucus-system. Speaking of the last primary held in St. Paul, the *Pioneer Press* of that city said: "Instead of a horde of office-seekers, bound to this or that faction, and foisted upon the public to feed at the public crib and to play into the hands of a small coterie of Republicans, the Primary law stimulated a search for good candidates all over the city, and the result was a primary ticket composed largely of men whom the office had sought, unpledged and indebted to no one. The result is the strongest ticket that the Republican party has had for years, a ticket of strong campaigners, and of men who are entitled to the confidence of the people and who have it. No convention ever did so well except when stimulated by popular impatience, and that was once in a decade." Hundreds of other localities, where the Direct Primary has been tried, could testify to the same effect. The mere fact that those cities and states

which have adopted this system have never thought of abandoning it, and that its popularity is ever on the increase, is sufficient evidence that it does result in better men being nominated for public office.

The caucus system presents no remedy for the evils of to-day. No matter how highly legalized, it will still remain complex, indirect and uncertain. In actual practice it represents but a small portion of the people. It places the power of nomination in the hands of the few, the boss and the ring. It is subversive of the principles of representative government. From all over the country comes the cry of the American people for deliverance. They demand that the control of the government be placed in their hands, and that they be given the power to directly nominate all party candidates. Arrayed against them in this struggle for better government and purity in politics are the corrupting elements of our social and industrial world. What greater tribute can be paid to the efficiency of the Direct Primary to destroy machine-domination

and corruption than this bitter antagonism of the boss and the ring?

The Direct Primary has universally proven satisfactory. Even where tried under the most unfavorable circumstances placed entirely outside the pale of the law, run by party organizations as it is in many places, introduced into factional, turbulent politics, into machine-ridden Minneapolis, it has proven eminently successful. It has given the people the power to nominate their officials. It has brought out more voters to the primaries. It has made the officials responsible to the people, and has freed them from the dictation of the machine. And finally, as a rule, it has resulted in the nomination of better candidates and in the inauguration of better government.

When these results are compared with those of the caucus system, there is no necessity for explaining further the universal demand for the adoption of the Direct Primary.

IRA CROSS.

Madison, Wis.

STATE-OWNED SAVINGS-BANKS.

BY DR. G. COOKE ADAMS.

ONE OF the most urgent reforms necessary in the direction of state or municipal-ownership of public utilities at the present time in the United States is that of the people's savings-banks.

Is it possible to describe a more heart-rending or deplorable sight than we have been witnessing the past winter in Chicago and elsewhere, of thousands of industrious workers, old and young, standing in the street from seven o'clock in the morning until bank-closing hours, lined up by the police like a lot of cattle, shivering in the cold, contracting rheumatism, pneumonia and pleurisy? Some

are grandfathers and grandmothers, bent with age and scarcely able to stand; others are parents and children; but all are there for the one purpose of endeavoring to obtain their savings. Their faces express the wretched anxiety and misery that they are undergoing. They are wondering whether there will be sufficient money left in the bank by the time their turn arrives to give them back their hard-earned savings—their life's blood—perhaps their all. They are aware that if it is not returned they may be turned out of their homes to spend the remainder of their days,—where? On the street, in the poorhouse or peni-

tentiary (for men are driven thus to steal to obtain food for their dear ones); or perhaps they may find a last resting-place in the potters' field.

It is criminal on the part of governments in any civilized country to permit such unnecessary scenes or so unwarrantable a state of affairs.

Are the people's savings secure and safe under existing conditions? Absolutely not. Recent events and disclosures have clearly shown that the people's savings are even used by the directors and officials of their own banks in furthering their individual speculative undertakings; or else they are deposited in other trust companies and banks which are controlled by fraudulent directors and officials of life insurance companies and other corporations and used in purchasing bonds, debentures and mortgages which are secured upon the speculative, heavily-watered stock of steamship, railway, real-estate, traction and other trusts promoted by these already convicted but unjailed criminals. Such an instance we have witnessed in the traction trust of Chicago, whose chief value was based upon a fraudulent franchise enabling the companies concerned to rob the people and trespass upon their thoroughfares. The recent collapse in their stocks and securities, in which the people's savings were directly or indirectly invested, is but a forerunner and a warning of what may be expected in other such fraudulent monopolistic concerns.

Is there any remedy to prevent the looting of the people's savings and protect them from loss? The remedy lies in federal, state or municipal-owned savings-banks. If the people's savings are to be protected, the federal, state or municipal governments should immediately establish their own savings-banks or take over the control of existing savings-banks by appointing their own trustees in a similar manner to that adopted by the various state governments in the commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand.

The savings-banks in the commonwealths of Australia and New Zealand may be divided into two classes: those worked in conjunction with the post-office, consequently directly administered by the federal government, and those under trustees who are nominated by the state governments are thereby under state control. They are therefore so safeguarded as to enjoy the full confidence of the public.

The declared objects of these banks are to encourage thrift among the working-classes and to provide a safe investment for the funds of trades-unions, friendly societies, charitable institutions, etc.

The state-owned banks have become so popular that all classes of the community are represented among their depositors. The Australian banking crisis of 1893 among the private-owned commercial banks had the effect of largely increasing the business of the state-owned banks.

Deposits of twenty-five cents and upwards are received in all the state savings-banks, but the amount of each depositor's savings bearing interest varies somewhat in the different state institutions. Thus, in New South Wales deposits exceeding \$1,000 do not bear interest on such excess, with the exception of the funds of charitable institutions, trades-unions and friendly societies. The average interest payable on deposits is 3 per cent.

In Victoria interest is allowed at the rate of 2½ per cent. on sums not exceeding \$500, and 2 per cent. on sums from \$500 to \$1,250, the latter being the maximum amount carrying interest.

In Queensland interest of 3 per cent. is allowed on all deposits below \$1,000. In December, 1895, authority was obtained for the issue of savings-bank stock at 3 per cent. to enable depositors of upwards of \$1,000 to obtain interest on such excess, as it was found that under the old constitution of the bank large sums were entrusted to the government that could not earn interest.

In Western Australia and Tasmania interest at 3 per cent. is allowed on \$750 deposits in one year. In South Australia the maximum amount bearing interest at 3 per cent. is \$1,250.

In New Zealand post-office and trustee institutions are also established, the former since February, 1867. Deposits of twenty-five cents and upwards are received. Interest was formerly allowed at rate of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. up to \$1,000, and at 4 per cent. from \$1,000 to \$2,500; but in 1893 the rates were reduced to 4 per cent. and $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. respectively, the maximum amount bearing interest remaining at \$2,500. Amount of interest was further reduced in 1900 to 3 per cent., the rate now allowed.

A feature of the New Zealand post-office savings-banks is that deposits of one shilling (twenty-five cents) may be made by means of postage stamps affixed to cards especially issued for the purpose. This plan was specially adopted to encourage thrift among children and the very poor, as it was recognized that it was a very difficult matter in such instances for them to save their pence until they had accumulated to a shilling; but under the present system this is avoided by purchasing a postage-stamp and affixing it to a card.

As instancing the confidence of the public, more particularly the industrial classes, in these state-owned or controlled institutions, reference need only be made to the enormous, steady increase in the number of depositors and the amount of their deposits during forty years, from 1861 to 1901-02, as shown by the returns from the banks.

In 1861 the number of depositors in Australasia was 20,062, having the sum of \$6,836,980 to their credit; in 1881 (twenty years later) the number of depositors had increased to 311,124 and their deposits to \$47,214,895; whereas in 1901 (or forty years later) the number of depositors had risen to 1,252,219, with depos-

its to their credit of \$200,630,305, or an average of about \$160 to each depositor.

The proportion of depositors to the entire population has been steadily increasing all along. Thus in 1861 it was on 2.31 per cent.; in 1871 it had increased to 5.98 per cent.; in 1881 to 11.33 per cent.; in 1891 to 19.47 per cent.; while in 1901-02 the proportion had increased to 27.02 per cent.

The funds of the federal and state-owned savings-banks are invested in government and municipal securities or as fixed deposits in the government treasuries.

All the governments in Australia hold considerable sums in trust either directly or indirectly for the people.

In Victoria, South Australia and New Zealand public trustees have been appointed to control trust-funds in the hands of their various governments; but in the other states of the commonwealth these trust funds are directly subject to the control of the treasury. At the present time the governments of Australasia have under control over \$200,000,000 of trust-funds, of which they have invested about \$130,000,000 in government securities, the balance remaining uninvested to meet payments on demand.

The success of state-ownership and control of savings-banks has also been demonstrated in Great Britain and other countries, as also has the government control of trust-funds.

A rush upon a government savings-bank and such a scene as above depicted is almost a thing unheard of in Australia.

Will not the workers of this country, in whose hands the matter alone rests, force the federal, state and municipal governments to take immediate action in this direction by returning to power only those representatives sworn to carry out that most vital of all reforms—state protection of the people's savings and trust-funds?

G. COOKE ADAMS.

Chicago, Ill.

THE FEMINIZATION OF THE HIGH-SCHOOL.

BY WILLIAM LEE HOWARD, M.D.

THE HIGHEST aim of the medical profession is to prevent physical and moral disease by teaching people the laws of health. It is unfortunate that the majority of people—and some physicians—do not see the great factor underlying the basis of physical and moral health; i. e., the early guidance of mental and physical activities into their proper channels. This can only be done by those who are cognizant of sex differentiation, of the pitfalls and whirlpools into which the slightest psychic variant may be drawn, and of the polymorphic changes during mental development in the adolescent of both sexes.

Any form of education is a failure that has not given the youth or young woman perfect health in all that the word implies. But more also should a correct education give,—the knowledge of how to keep in good health. This means a clean mind, and its corollary, moral living.

It is true that a certain proportion of mankind is by the universal law of organic failure doomed to physical and mental imperfections, even the lowest grade, but this proportion can certainly be reduced by educating girls and boys so they will possess the potentialities of fit parents. In some respects it would be beneficial if we adopted a few of the ancient Greeks' methods of training youths.

The true physician knows the wide range of psychological curves and modifiable conditions in the adolescent and how to influence them toward the building of healthy minds and strong bodies. The difficulty is to get the general public, the parents of pupils, to give an intelligent hearing and assent to what we know must be laid down as rules if the future health of our children is to be assured.

"An intelligent assent is an assent

based upon knowledge," said Huxley. The knowledge which is necessary to understand the injustice done to adolescents by placing the sexes together in high schools, having them indifferently taught by many women and a few men, means an acquaintance with the basic facts of physiology and of physiologic psychology. These basic facts are unknown to the majority of teachers. The superstructure that is given to them as knowledge on these subjects lacks the vital and intimate acquaintance with the underlying causes of sex moods and desires.

This is the starting-point of the errors: The women teachers have physiologic facts which have jumped the elementary knowledge of life. Consequently they are blind to psychologic upheavals, find interpretations of moods, desires and morbidities difficult, and derive a wrong understanding of many of Nature's signals.

There is a class of teachers who have been over the daily routine and drudgery of high-school teaching so long that they have about as much knowledge of their scholars' varying moods and abilities as the hybrid manikin they use to demonstrate the location of the lungs. When we hear one of these individuals state that the constant mingling of the sexes during the active period of adolescence has absolutely no effect on the emotional side of the girl; that this girl can and does do her daily work every day in the month without psychic symptoms of sex differentiation demonstrating themselves, we have a pitiable feeling of disgust at such a condition of sex degeneracy.

We should start by at once abolishing the custom of teaching boys and girls together after they have reached the puberal age. This state of affairs un-

fortunately exists largely throughout certain puritanical territories and in newer geographical sections that have been settled by the descendants of these puritans. It is a system handed down from the old country-school and academy, and has no excuse for any longer being in existence.

"A deep difference in constitution expresses itself in the distinction between male and female, whether these be physical or mental. The difference may be exaggerated or lessened, but to obliterate them it would be necessary to have all the evolution over again on a new basis. What was decided amongst the prehistoric protozoa cannot be amended by an act of congress. The biologic difference between the sexes result in physiologic and social differentiation. We must insist on the biologic conditions underlying the relation of the sexes."*

There are many more reasons based on biologic laws which should make it plain to the understanding of all normal men and women why the sexes should be separated during the adolescent period.

A successful educational plan must be based upon rational sex differences. This plan must be free from that anti-social being, the woman of "advanced ideas," and undeveloped maternal instincts. It is not possible for this individual to recognize any sex differentiation in her adolescent scholars. Also, the male teacher who has long been associated with a certain class of women teachers, girl pupils, and a few boys, is not apt to comprehend this differentiation which is so marked during adolescence.

It must be generally recognized, if we wish our future men and women to be normal, that there is a difference in fundamental sex ideas, feelings and emotions,—in the nervous organization of men and women, and that we cannot blindly mix them up in one educational hopper and expect to get the best results.

*Geddes and Thompson.

A certain subject in literature will leave opposite, or at least different, impressions in the minds of the youth and young woman hearing the same lecture, or after reading a certain lesson, these divergent interpretations being dependent upon the psychic and emotional differentiation existing at the time. A teacher well-informed on the psychology of sex, when teaching a class of girls will state a fact in a different mood and manner, will express it in other colors than he would to a class of young men. When it has to be indifferently stated it ceases to leave a true and individual impression. The youth's view of life is distinct from that of the adolescent girl. At this time the difference between the sexes is greater than at any other period. The difference is in every tissue, organ and faculty.

It is a few of the foregoing facts, to which parents and teachers of the past have been blind, that has brought about the gradual feminization of the high-school. Other facts are, the greater number of girls over boys in the schools, and the unfortunate tendency towards feminization of the male teachers in consequence of being constantly in an atmosphere unnatural to male instincts. This demoralization is subtle, but certain, and also has its insidious effect upon the boys. *Ambiguas in vulgam spargere voces.*

On account of the large number of young women, as compared to boys, in high-schools, a great injustice is done to the boys who are obliged to remain. Boys need to be held to a different standard of conduct,—need a different sympathy and a separate knowledge of hygiene than girls; hence, if the school is regulated to the physiologic and psychologic necessities of girls, the boys do not get the personal care and instruction due them. If the differentiation of the sexes is ignored all the scholars are falsely taught, and with these the physicians will in later life have to deal. Many boys who are so unfortunate as to remain in high schools where no sex distinction is made,—that is, where boys and girls

are taught in the same classes, become unnatural in spirit and ideals.

The women teachers do not appeal in any way to the virile or feral qualities of the youth. The want of *rapprochement* naturally causes the boys to remain indifferent to their lessons, and establishes a barrier for sympathetic relations between pupils and teachers. Many now go to boys' schools where teachers and scholars can come together in a bloody football contest or sympathetically in the study. This rational movement is rapidly producing an aristocracy in educational circles, but such a condition is preferable to feminization.

As President Stanley Hall remarks: "The present approximation of matter and methods in high-schools has at least certain elements of degeneration for both sexes. It repels boys from the upper high-school grades and virifies the tastes and ideals of girls, many of whom wish they had been born boys when our need is to push sex distinction to the uttermost and make man even more manly and woman more womanly."

Physicians for several years past have recognized the wrong done in mixed high-schools to the physiologic blossoming of the young woman. The fault has easily been traced to ignorance due to prurient prudery which has kept hidden the plain facts necessary to give parent and teacher warning. These facts have long been known to physicians, who have published their opinions, but unfortunately, these do not get outside of the medical journals.*

When a girl leaves school at eighteen she should be thoroughly prepared to become the best possible wife and mother. What is the consensus of opinion among medical men?—"that the majority of educated women in America reach a marriageable age in such a poor condition of health that it is a hardship for them to

perform the normal natural duties of wifehood and motherhood."†

The male teacher is not competent to understand the varying moods of the young woman, nor should such an effeminate trait be wanted in a male teacher. Let the man teach along the lines of manly craft, woman in womanly craft. It is safe to say that a girl graduate of a mixed high-school has not learned one womanly craft of specific use to her sex. Many have no knowledge of the hygiene and physiology of their sex; many have perverted ideas, and some, ruinous emotions due to the abnormal atmosphere ever present when the sexes are mixed in daily social contact during the adolescent period.‡

This high-school atmosphere of femininity for adolescent boys is against all the laws of Nature and Man. Girls of sixteen to eighteen years of age are matured, are women ready to be married. What of the boys of that age? Rough, developing adolescents; healthy young cubs. They have different moods, desires and ideas. There is yet no psychologic change. They have not learned to apply their minds to books, and the healthy boy of seventeen must be expected to be far behind girls of the same age in this matter. Healthy-minded boys are young animals and should be allowed the freedom and license of rough play that their energy demands. This excessive physical energy directed into proper channels is the making of a man.

Two years or more in a classroom with girls changes this healthy spirit. The boy tires of being told that the girls beat him in his studies. He realizes that his woman teacher thinks his nose needs washing, when in reality it is a bad bruise from football or a fight. Under these conditions he becomes indifferent and leaves school. If he stays, he runs great risk of becoming feminized.

Force the boy to constant association

**Adolescence*, President Stanley Hall, Appleton, 2 vol.

†"The Present Method of Educating Girls," Professor Laphorn Smith. Read before the Amer-

ican Academy of Medicine; *Dominion Medical Monthly*, December, 1904.

‡"Education and Sex Differentiation," William Lee Howard, M.D., *New York Medical Journal*, February 20, 1904.

and mental competition with young women and the tendency will be to develop unfortunate elements of maturity, and a too eager desire for the completeness of life. He believes he has laid the foundation of life, for his associations with young women have misled him. He has seen them mature, accepts their acknowledged condition of finished education, and also wishes to step into real life. Such has been the unfortunate results of the false education given the boy.

All schools for girls and boys over thirteen years of age should be adjusted to sex needs and growth. This adjustment is impossible where the sexes are mixed in one school, and there cannot be that personal attention given where the teacher gradually degenerates into sex negativity.

The young male teacher whose surroundings are marked by female boundaries soon finds himself in unpleasant fields. He is wrongly set in external circumstances and in the false perspective of social laws and physiologic demands. He is expected to instruct young women in material matters or abstract science at an age when there is the most spontaneous variation in all their womanly attributes.

The boys in the same classes are going through the age when the real boy's mind is figuring out baseball averages or building a canoe for next summer's camp. One portion of the teacher's class is romantic, curious and interested in the poets, or else dreaming of the knight to

come; another small portion of the class owns no manicure set, can understand the poetry in the English lesson as well upside down as right side up, and is thinking only of the practical, the business of the day, fishing or football.

The virile teacher under such conditions chafes and soon becomes disgusted and looks for his proper place,—among boys whose mental attitude and physical desires he can appreciate and mingle with.

It is for this reason that the high-school seldom has a male teacher who makes any impression on the real boy, or any female teacher whom the boy does not treat as one whom he must tolerate but inwardly looks upon her as he does his young sister: "Oh, you're a girl! You would n't understand."

It must not be lost sight of that at the dawn of adolescence the boy makes for specialization, while the girl much more matured at the same age is generic. Certain studies which she will enjoy and easily learn, are hard and discouraging to the boy who has certain mental inclinations and probably already picked his calling for life. Man makes for proficiency in his investigations, not sterile erudition. The man must go to the *sturm* and *drang* of practical life. Even in the high-school the teacher must deal with the spirit of men,—“realizing the perceptions of the mind for a broad and catholic view of life.”

WILLIAM LEE HOWARD.

Baltimore, Md.

THE SOCIALIST PROGRAMME.

BY EDWARD SLADE.

IT HAS become a platitude among students of current events that the greatest issue before this and every other civilized country is not political in its nature, nor religious, nor judicial, but industrial. The evils afflicting modern society proceed from its economic organization, and not from its political, religious or judiciary institutions. This fact is becoming more obvious to the mass of people every day. It is seen that notwithstanding democratic forms of government and liberal education the most enlightened nations are suffering from the very same diseases that are prevalent under despotism, namely, luxury on the one hand, poverty on the other, and degeneration of the people as a whole. Hence the clamor for economic reform. The social problem is pushed to the fore. Radical measures are demanded. Curtailment of corporate greed, diminution of military expenditures, the housing of the poor, the establishment of national workshops for the unemployed, public-ownership of natural monopolies, these and even more radical undertakings are beginning to agitate the minds of men and women. To the party who can satisfy this craving for reform belongs the future.

None of the old historical parties seem likely to take upon themselves the incubus of solving the social problem. Indeed, their chief care seems to be to evade it. At best they effect reforms calculated to satisfy the public for a time, but which are seldom, if ever, fundamental. The opinion is gaining ground throughout the labor community that nothing adequate need be expected from any of the old established parties. In England this fact is demonstrated by the remarkable gains of labor at the recent general elections, in Europe by the increasing

allegiance of the working-class to Social-Democracy, and in America by the phenomenal growth within recent years of the Socialist party. And the Socialist vote is destined to increase by leaps and bounds. This is evident to persons avowedly opposed to the principles of Socialism. For weal or for woe, Socialism is developing apace in every country where industrialism has created a propertyless proletariat. The movement everywhere is growing, growing. It has long ceased to be an academic question, and must now be reckoned with in the practical world. The party possesses a vitality unsurpassed by that of any other organization. Though young-politically, it is distinguishing itself in the arena of politics. In Germany it is the largest single party, that is, in point of votes, but not in point of representatives in the Reichstag; while in the legislatures of France, Austria, Italy, Belgium and Denmark Social-Democracy is an expanding factor. In this country the movement has not as yet made much headway, but its growth in the last half-decade has been very rapid. At the presidential election in 1900, the Socialist party polled 97,730 votes; in 1904, 391,587. There is no reason to believe that this rate of progress will not continue. Mark Hanna predicted that the two great contending parties in this country will be, not Republican and Democrat, but Republican and Socialist. Lord Rosebery is reported to have said that the impending struggle in England is between the "haves" and "have nots." Yerkes and other great financiers, besides many shrewd observers whose opinions are valued, have warned us that Socialism is *the* issue on the political and industrial horizon.

With these statements in mind, it is to be regretted that the principles and aims

of Social-Democracy are not more widely and better understood. The greatest revolutionary movement of all time, for such the Socialist movement is, surely merits the investigation of the public-spirited citizen. A party which comes forward with a definite economic programme and claims that in its programme is contained the solution of the social problem, a party which is gaining the ear of the people and threatens to revolutionize our civilization, that party is either a blessing or a menace to the State, and should not be ignored. If it is to be opposed, it should be opposed intelligently and with fairness. If it is to be supported, it should be supported rationally. In either case an examination of its formulated principles and objects, to say nothing of its *personnel* and literature, is desirable.

Lying before the writer are the programmes of the Social-Democratic parties of Germany, France, Austria, Belgium, England, the United States and Canada. Guided by a familiarity with socialist thought, he proposes to give a concise and lucid summary of these programmes. Some of the demands of the European Socialists would, of course, be superfluous in the platform of the Socialist party of America, but I have nevertheless embodied them in the summary. As Social-Democracy is avowedly international, I have deemed it better not to omit the items which have no application to American institutions.

PREAMBLE.

In the declaration of principles of all Social-Democratic parties is set forth the scientific basis of the movement. It is pointed out that the development of machinery and the factory system involved the suppression of the small or cottage industries and the consequent alienation of the worker from the tools of production. The effect of this industrial evolution has been the creation of propertyless wage-earners, who are dependent for their subsistence entirely on

their ability to sell their labor-power. Expropriation of the mass of the people from the sources of wealth production continues apace. The concentration of wealth and industry under the control of trusts and a privileged minority is sinking the middle-class—small employers, traders and middlemen—into wage-earners. Hence arises the division of society into two classes: the Bourgeoisie or capitalist class on the one hand, and the Proletariat or laboring class on the other. Between these two classes there is an irreconcilable conflict—a class-struggle, a struggle over the division of wealth between capital and labor. But labor is the producer of all wealth, and to labor, therefore, all wealth should belong.

Production to-day, owing to the minute division of labor, is social in its nature, but the ownership of the tools of production and the appropriation of the surplus value produced is individual. Thus it is that the labor of the many is exploited to the enrichment of the few. This injustice can only be corrected by the socialization of industry.

The competitive system is the root of all evil. The fact that large sections of the community are condemned to struggle for an ignominious existence, that insecurity has come to be the normal condition of society, that large bodies of men and women are unable to procure work, that widespread misery is periodically endured because of crises, that morality and life are unsparingly sacrificed for profit, that strikes and warfare are inevitable under capitalism, the fact that these things are the natural corollary of competition and individual ownership of the sources of wealth suffices to show the necessity of the economic reorganization of society.

The historic mission of the proletariat is the emancipation of labor from all forms of exploitation. This emancipation must be the work of the proletarians themselves. It must be based upon the principle of the class-struggle and be achieved through the exercise of political

power. It is the function of the Social-Democratic party to shape the proletarian revolt into a well-defined, class-conscious, political movement. Recognizing that the interests of working-people in all lands are the same, Social-Democracy teaches the international solidarity of labor. Though emphasizing the class-struggle, the Social-Democratic party exonerates itself of creating it. The party deplores the existence of classes and looks forward to their abolition in the Coöperative Commonwealth.

The International Socialist party declares itself the uncompromising champion of labor. It recognizes no other interests than those of the workers. It shall exert whatever influence it possesses for the immediate betterment of the working-class, but its great and ultimate object (to quote the S. D. F. of Great Britain) is: "the Socialization of the Means of Production, Distribution, and Exchange, to be controlled by a Democratic State in the interests of the entire community, and the complete Emancipation of Labor from the Domination of Capitalism and Landlordism, with the establishment of Social and Economic Equality between the Sexes."

PROGRAMME OF IMMEDIATE REFORMS.

Political.

Socialists stand for the fullest democratization of political institutions. They are a unit in demanding universal, equal and adult suffrage; proportional representation; payment of members of all legislative and administrative bodies; the initiative and referendum; the right of recall; abolition of all Upper Chambers; the suppression of all hereditary offices; the maximum of local autonomy in state and municipality; more liberal naturalization laws; and a legal holiday for elections.

Fiscal.

Social-Democrats are agreed on two things in matters fiscal: (1) that all indirect taxation, especially customs tariffs,

should be abolished, and (2) that until the Coöperative Commonwealth is inaugurated the whole burden of taxation should be shifted upon the shoulders of the well-to-do through inheritance, graduated income and property taxes. The appropriation of mining royalties, taxation of land values, repudiation of national debts and the nationalization of banks are also suggested.

Military.

Though universal peace is embraced in the Socialist ideal, Socialists do not advocate immediate disarmament. Until such time that arbitration becomes the sole means of settling international disputes, they recommend the substitution of national citizen-forces for standing armies, the furtherance of arbitration schemes, renunciation of aggressive foreign policies, the transference to the jurisdiction of the civil courts of offences against discipline, and the decision by the representatives of the people of questions pertaining to war and peace.

Juridical.

Judgment by popularly elected judges, free legal advice, free administration of the law, indemnification of innocent persons arrested and condemned, and abolition of capital punishment are the principal legal reforms advocated.

Education.

In matters educational socialism presents us with a very liberal programme: Compulsory school attendance for all children under sixteen years of age; their equipment and maintenance at the public expense; the extension of manual training and technical education; free tuition in the higher institutions of learning for pupils capable of advanced studies; all education to be secular.

Religion.

Religion is to be declared a private matter, religious bodies to have no other status than that of other private organiza-

tions, and where the old ecclesiastical relations to the state obtain churches are to be disestablished and disendowed.

Women.

In every department of life Socialists desire the absolute equality of the sexes. They stand for the enfranchisement of women, the abolition of all laws prejudicial to women in their relations to men in public and private law, the exclusion of women from all industries specially injurious to their physique, and equal pay of the sexes for the performance of equal work.

Working-Class Legislation.

For the protection of labor the following reforms are demanded: Prohibition of child-labor; prohibition of unnecessary night-work; prohibition of female

labor in industries specially injurious to woman's physique; an uninterrupted rest of thirty-six hours per week for every worker; the fixing of a minimum wage and a maximum working-day of eight hours; more thorough government inspection of business establishments; responsibility of employers for injuries to their employes; insurance by the government of working-people against unemployment, disablement, old age and death.

Among sundry other reforms advocated may be mentioned free medical attendance of the sick, including medicine and midwifery; liberal divorce laws; municipal dwellings for the poor; and public control of the drink traffic.

EDWARD SLADE.

Toronto, Canada.

A PRIMER OF DIRECT-LEGISLATION.

Prepared by Professor FRANK PARSONS, Ph.D., President of the National Public-Ownership League and author of *The City for the People*; ELTWEED POMEROY, President of the National Direct-Legislation League; GEORGE H. SHIBLEY, President of the People's Sovereignty League of America; Hon. J. WARNER MILLS; ALLAN L. BENSON; Dr. C. F. TAYLOR; RALPH ALBERTSON, Secretary of the Massachusetts Referendum League; J. P. CADMAN; Dr. J. R. HAYNES; W. S. U'REN; and the Editor of THE ARENA.

CHAPTER TWO.

The Initiative.

Q. WHAT is the Popular Initiative? **A.** The Popular Initiative is the right of a certain percentage of the voters, usually five to ten per cent., to propose a law, ordinance or constitutional amendment for action by the legislature or decision at the polls or both.

Under what is considered by many as the preferable form, the measure which is petitioned by the requisite number of voters, goes to the proper legislative body, which may adopt or reject it, amend it, pass a substitute, or refrain from any action in reference to it. If the legislative body does not enact the measure as petitioned for, or if it takes adverse action

in any form, the said measure together with the amendment, substitute or other action of the legislative body goes to the electorate for final decision at the polls.

In Oregon a somewhat different form is in use. Here, on the petition of eight per cent. of the voters filed with the Secretary of State, the bill or constitutional amendment included in the petition is submitted to the people at the next general election, and if the majority of those voting on the question vote Yes, the Governor announces that fact by proclamation, and from that date it is the law of the state without further question.

Q. Give reasons why the Initiative is needed now to preserve a government of, for and by the people in the United States?

A. Without the Initiative the legisla-

ture can block the will of the people by refusing to act. By the Referendum the people can veto legislative action when it goes wrong. When through timidity, conservatism, corruption or the pressure of private interest in any form, the legislative body neglects or refuses to pass a law or ordinance desired by the public, action may be secured through the Initiative.

Year after year the legislature of Massachusetts has refused to act upon the eight-hour bill. If the right of Initiative existed the matter could be brought to a vote without delay and at a small part of the cost that is consumed in the yearly battle for it.

In many other instances during recent years the people have expressed their desire for legislation and their representatives have made ante-election pledges but after they were elected they came under the influence of the lobbyists and the representatives of public-service corporations and other privileged interests, when they have been false to their trust and have deliberately violated their pledges. By the Popular Initiative the people can secure needed legislation in a peaceful and orderly way, in spite of corrupt influences that have thwarted the voters and defeated the interests of the community.

The Initiative constitutes an effective means by which at all times the people may exercise their right of instructing their agents.

Q. Would the Initiative result in the demand for a number of unnecessary or foolish laws?

A. Experience in Switzerland and in our Western States proves that legislation under the Initiative is on the whole wise and conservative. Any one who will take the trouble year after year to read the statutes passed by our legislatures will find it difficult to imagine how any system likely to be adopted in a free country could possibly produce more foolish or vicious laws than the system of law-making by final vote of a few men,

largely under the influence of private and special interests, now in operation in this country.

In the long run the judgment of a free people is likely to be superior to the judgment of any small legislative body. This follows from a fundamental psychologic law: Truth is a unit; error and private interests are multiple. When men follow their errors or private interests they diverge. A few men may go together in allegiance to some error or private interest, but when the people as a whole unite it must be by a cancellation of their errors and private interests. In large communities as a rule it is only on the basis of truth and right that the people can get together in controlling numbers.

Moreover, the inertia of mankind and the effort and cost necessary to secure the requisite percentage of signatures to the petition render the Initiative essentially conservative. People will not ask for the passage of a law unless they are convinced that it is needed. This has been proved to be the case wherever the Initiative has been employed. But the possession of this right, together with the Referendum, has practically led to the disappearance of corrupt lobbies and other sinister influences that have long offered great temptations to the people's representatives and in many instances have rendered impossible the enactment of needed legislation while forcing to a successful issue laws that were not desired by the people and were inimical to their interests.

Q. What has been the result of the Initiative in Switzerland?

A. Like the Referendum, it has so safeguarded the people's interests that the lawmakers have striven to carry out the wishes of the voters. In Switzerland, after the Federal Initiative was adopted, only two measures were petitioned for in four years.

Q. Has it proved beneficial where introduced in America, and in what way?

A. It has proved very valuable in Oregon. The people have enacted a

Direct Primary Nominations law which seems to be utterly destroying the political machines, and a local option in licensing liquor selling, which is only applying Direct Legislation locally to one question and was needed and is valuable. The Initiative tends, as in this case, to decentralize and localize government by referring all local matters to each local community to decide for itself. They are going ahead this year to enact some amendments to the Constitution giving them Initiative and Referendum powers on all local and special legislation and city charters and ordinances, to be exercised by the people interested in the measures proposed and other measures.

In South Dakota honest citizens have several times been able to checkmate measures opposed to the public interest by the mere threat of agitation for the Initiative.

Even the Initiative of the Public Policy law of Illinois has through the several expressions of the electorate of Illinois and the city of Chicago brought about important and far-reaching changes in the policy of that state and especially of the metropolis. By means of this law and with immense majorities the voters of Illinois have expressed themselves as favoring the Initiative and Referendum in state and in municipalities, as favoring Direct Primaries, and as favoring home-rule in taxation and the direct election of United States Senators. As the result of this last expression regarding the election of Senators, the legislature of Illinois put their state in line with other states in calling for a United States Constitutional Convention, and in their action used these significant words: "Now, therefore, in obedience to the expressed will of the people as expressed at said election, be it resolved," etc.

Also by means of this Public Policy law and with most decisive majorities, the voters of Chicago three times expressed themselves as favoring municipal-ownership of street-railways and some other public utilities

Q. Is there anything un-American in the Initiative?

A. No. The Initiative has been in use in America from the earliest days and is still in use wherever the New England town-meeting system obtains. Here any ten citizens may by petition which is nothing more nor less than the Initiative, bring measures before the voters for consideration at the town-meeting. The Initiative simply adapts this well-established principle of the New England town-meeting to a larger and more complex civilization.

Q. Is the Initiative inimical to republican government?

A. Certainly not. It is the cornerstone of a truly republican form of government. This is well expressed in the opinion of the Supreme Court of Oregon, rendered December, 1903, in the case of *Kaddery versus Portland*.* In this ruling the Court held that:

"The representative character of the government still remains. The people have simply reserved to themselves a larger share of legislative power, but they have not overthrown the republican form of government, or substituted another in its place."

Q. Does the Popular Initiative take from the people's representatives any rights or powers that properly belong to them?

A. No. By it the people are enabled more thoroughly to control their representatives, who are or should be servants and not masters of the people.

Q. What classes of citizens oppose the introduction of the Popular Initiative, and why?

A. Those who doubt the people; those who have interests opposed to the people.

Q. What classes favor the Initiative?

A. Those who desire real popular sovereignty instead of sham sovereignty those who desire that the legislators elected by the people shall be representatives

*74 *Pacific Reporter*, page 710.

and not misrepresentatives; those who desire to terminate the private monopoly of law-making; those who desire to kill the corporation lobby and abolish boss-rule and machine-government; those who desire to bring better men into politics, to simplify elections, to lessen the power of partnership, to stop class-legislation, to elevate the press and educate

the people, to open the door of progress to all wise measures of reform, to establish a reasonable safety-valve for discontent, and to take the next great step in the improvement of representative government in harmony with the whole trend of modern political history throughout the civilized world and with the fundamental demands of democracy.

THE PROPOSED PAN-AMERICAN TRADES-COLLEGE.

BY PROF. FREDERIC M. NOA.

AFTER a lapse of eighty years, Pan-Americanism seems again to be in the air, and it is probable that the Hon. Elihu Root, United States Secretary of State, will make his administration of the State Department memorable in cultivating the closest commercial and social ties between the United States and all the extensive Latin-American Republics. He appears destined to accomplish as much on the American continent as his lamented predecessor the Hon. John Hay accomplished on that of Asia. No American, indeed, with the possible exception of the martyr President McKinley, since the days of the late Hon. James G. Blaine, has shown a keener insight into the imperative necessity of increasing the ties of respect, friendship and commerce between Latin America and the United States. He will prove the faith of his convictions by attending in person the coming Pan-American Congress, to be held, next summer, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and, while in South America, will carefully study conditions on the spot, and the obstacles to be overcome.

A significant and important step in the direction of reviving the decadent trade of the United States with Mexico, the West Indies, Central America and South America has already been taken by the State of Texas, by officially sanctioning the proposed *Pan-American Trades-College*. The Hon. George B. Griggs, a

Senator of the Legislature of Texas, has for many years agitated this matter, and it is to be hoped that his untiring efforts will now win the favorable consideration of President Roosevelt and the Congress at Washington. The history of the movement may be briefly summarized as follows:

A special Joint Committee on Pan-American Relations to whom was referred a concurrent resolution of the Texas legislature on the expediency of establishing in that State, near the Mexican frontier, a Pan-American Trades-College, made a favorable report on the sixth of May, 1905, and after reviewing the great disadvantages under which the United States are laboring as regards the vast and constantly growing commerce of all the Latin-American Republics to the south of the Rio Grande, most of which highly profitable commerce is monopolized by Europe, recommended that immediate steps should be taken to establish the Trades-College proposed, and that a special commission should be appointed to disseminate general information and to agitate for favorable action before Congress. They adduced very powerful and convincing arguments why such an institution should be in active operation at the earliest possible date. One of their strongest points is the humiliating fact that 25,000 Latin-American students, of the wealthiest and most cultured classes,

annually attend the various universities, colleges and technical institutions of Great Britain, France, Germany and other European countries. These young men naturally form ties in Europe, and thus the main channels of trade from Latin America continue to flow towards European lands instead of towards their natural market, the United States. If the annual stream of 25,000 Latin-American students, or, at least, a large portion of them, could be diverted from Europe and induced to receive their education in the United States, not only would enduring ties of friendship and respect be established but also an important step would be taken towards enabling the United States to capture a proper share of the markets of Mexico, Central America and South America. An ideal spot for founding a Pan-American Trades-College would be in either San Antonio or Corpus Christi, Texas. The climate of southern Texas, being exempt from both the rigorous cold of the Northern States and the excessively enervating heat of the tropical lowlands of equatorial America, would be admirably suited as a place of reunion for students coming from all parts of Latin America. Its curriculum should include all that is best in universities as well as what is most useful in technical institutions. It should in addition to fitting Latin-Americans for careers, trades and professions, possess practical exhibitions of the manufactures, mining, agriculture, fine arts, and other industries of both the United States and Latin America. A permanent bureau of experts could give valuable information as to the best means of cultivating commerce with various parts of both Americas.

Such are a few of the many advantages which would arise from the successful inauguration and establishment of a Pan-American Trades-College in Texas. It would seem as though every patriotic American should encourage so laudable a project until what is at present a vision becomes a practical reality. All authori-

ties are agreed that the United States possesses only a deplorably insignificant fraction of the foreign commerce and transportation of Latin America, which, in 1902, reached the enormous sum of \$1,198,000,000, or a per capita amount of about \$20 for each member of the 60,000,000 population of Latin America. To gain a more adequate idea of the value of her commerce, it is necessary to bear in mind that she has an urban population of 8,000,000, of which 1,000,000 live in the highly cultured and rapidly growing commercial metropolis Buenos Aires, Argentine Republic.

To realize how valuable increased commerce with Latin America would be to the United States, it is well to consider a moment actual conditions as they prevail in the New World as compared with the Old. With scarcely any exception, all the nations of America, from Canada to the far distant Argentine Republic, at the southern extremity of the American continent, have stable governments, are enjoying the fruits of many years of profound peace, and are, on the whole, highly prosperous. These happy conditions are likely to continue permanently, as arbitration of international disputes has long been the settled policy of the New World, the progressive Republics of Argentina and Chile having taken the most advanced stand in regard to universal peace and disarmament. A steady tide of European immigrants, from the best elements, are invigorating both English-speaking America and Latin America. A vast portion of the Old World, on the other hand, has been, for the last two years, a prey to the most devastating, bloody and murderous war of modern times, if not of history. Argue as sophists may, it will require a hundred years for Japan, China and the Far East to recover from its disastrous and baneful effects. Russia is in the convulsive throes of a reign of terror comparable only to that of France in 1789. Generations may pass before the ravages caused by her late war with Japan and her present

revolution of blood, fire and destruction will be repaired. Moreover, a new factor has entered into the commercial and political relations of the world. China is awakening from the lethargy and sleep of centuries, and is leading in the cry of "Asia for the Asiatics!" Her boycott of American and, incidentally, European goods, concessions and influence will continue to increase and spread, entailing, annually, millions of dollars of loss upon Americans who have laboriously spent years of efforts and much capital in building up trade with the Far Orient. Hence, under such adverse conditions prevailing in the Old World and especially in Russia and Asia, the United States will soon be forced to seek open markets in Latin America, her next-door neighbor to the south, as Canada is to the north.

Latin America, with its stupendous area vaster by over 1,500,000 square miles than the combined areas of the United States, Canada, Alaska and Hawaii, and extending, through four zones, from the northernmost boundary of Texas to Cape Horn, 56 degrees below the equator, is so little known to the people of the United States that it may be well to consider briefly just what is the actual value of her commerce and how it is distributed. On these points, the most recent issues of the *Monthly Bulletin of the International Bureau of the American Republics*, are extremely instructive. The foreign trade of Latin America with Europe and the United States alone reached, in 1904, the grand total of over \$975,000,000. The former obtained \$669,000,000 of this amount and the latter \$306,000,000—in other words, Europe secured more than twice as much of this splendid commerce as the United States. The total value of European exports to the Latin-American Republics was \$324,000,000, while the imports into Europe from Latin America were \$345,000,000. As a contrast to this, American exports to Latin America were \$68,000,000 while the imports from the Latin-American Republics into the United States amounted alto-

gether to \$238,000,000. Comment on such a deplorable showing is unnecessary: the figures speak for themselves. These statistics, however, tell only a portion of the lamentable story. Except in Cuban and Mexican ports, the Stars and Stripes are rarely seen flying from a merchant vessel. The lucrative ocean transportation of Latin America is mainly carried on in foreign bottoms, Great Britain, Germany, France and even insignificant Belgium and Norway sharing the profits. In many of the most important Latin-American centers of industry and civilization, like Rio and Buenos Aires, which together have a population equal to that of Chicago, there is no American bank, and exchange is conducted through London, Paris and Berlin.

Considering that Latin America has been delivered only eighty years from over three centuries of Spanish misrule and oppression, her progress in the arts, education, civilization, industry and commerce has been marvelous. Buenos Aires, her greatest commercial emporium and maritime port, has an annual commerce of \$217,000,000 against \$188,000,000 for Shanghai, China, and \$128,000,000 for Yokohama, Japan: a commerce which considerably exceeds that of any seaport of the United States, New York excepted. Santos and Rio, Brazil, the next largest Latin-American ocean-ports, have, respectively, a yearly commerce of \$89,000,000 and \$82,000,000. If these figures be added to those for Buenos Aires, we have a combined total of \$388,000,000, or a value closely approximating one-third that of New York City (\$1,106,979,000) and easily exceeding that of Calcutta (\$294,000,000), the greatest maritime port of Asia.

Manufacturing has already made surprising headway in Latin America. The imperial republic of Brazil, of the Tropical and South Temperate zone, and almost as vast as the United States and Alaska combined, had, on July 31, 1905, one hundred and eight cotton-mills in operation, with 715,078 spindles and 26,054

looms. These mills consume annually 30,764,523 kilos (68,000,000 pounds) of cotton, and produce 234,473,424 meters, or, approximately, 260,529,000 yards of cloth. The number of operatives employed is 37,638. Another instance of the remarkable progress of Latin America is seen in the energetic Republic of Chile. According to the annual report of United States Consul Mansfield, of Valparaiso, \$40,000,000 capital has been invested in new enterprises during the year 1904. In this investment, companies for exploiting nitrate, useful and precious metals, for promoting municipal improvements, for manufactures of various sorts, for encouraging agriculture, and for the establishment of new banks, are represented.

Railroad construction in Latin America is going on apace. The Transcontinental Railway between the Argentine Republic and Chile has been steadily pushed up among the highest passes of the forbid-

ding snowy Cordillera of the Andes, to a height of 10,000 feet, a spiral tunnel of 16 kilometers or 10 miles remaining to be pierced through the mountains. Thus Chile and Argentina bid fair soon to be linked together by bands of steel from Buenos Aires on the Atlantic to Valparaiso on the Pacific, and a rapid and inestimably valuable highway to Australia, China, India and the Far East will probably be inaugurated and in highly successful operation ten years before the completion of the Panama canal.

Such, then, is the brilliant destiny of Latin America, and, hence, every movement should have the united support of reflecting and patriotic Americans which, like the proposed Pan-American College of Texas, would stimulate commercial and social relations between the United States and the Latin-American Republics.

FREDERIC M. NOA.

Malden, Mass.

THE HEART OF THE RACE PROBLEM.*

BY ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE, A.M.

Part III.

I HAVE now discussed the subject of the contact of two races living together on the same land and on terms of inequality, in its relations to the morals of the men of those races. It yet remains to consider the same subject in its relations to the conduct of the women. What is the effect of such contact, to be specific, on the women of the two races in the South? And first, what is it on white women? Do these women know of the existence of the criminal commerce which goes on between the world of the white man and that of the colored woman? And if so, are they cognizant of its extent and magnitude? They do perceive, without doubt, what it must have been in the past from the multitude of the mix-

ed bloods who came down to the South from a period before the war, or the abolition of slavery. Such visible evidence not even a fool could refuse to accept at its full face-value. And the white women of the South are not fools. Far from it. They have eyes like other women, and ears, and with them they see and hear what goes on about them. Their intelligence is not deceived in respect to appearances and underlying causes. Certainly they are not ignorant of the fact that a negro can no more change his skin than a leopard his spots. When therefore they see black mothers with light-colored children, they need not ask the meaning of it, the cause of such apparent wonder. For they know to their sorrow its natural explanation, and whence have come all the mulattoes and quadroons and octoroons of the South. And to

* The first and second parts of Mr. Grimke's article appeared in *THE ARENA* for January and March, respectively.

these women this knowledge has been bitterer than death. The poisoned arrow of it long ago entered deep into their souls. And the hurt, cruel and immediate, rankles in the breasts of those women to-day, as it rankled in the breasts of their mothers of a past long vanished.

What pray, is engendered by all of this widespread but suppressed suffering transmitted, as a bitter heritage for generations, by Southern mothers to Southern daughters? What but bitter hatred of the black woman of the South by the white woman of the South. How is this hatred expressed? In a hundred ways and by a hundred means. One cannot keep down a feeling of pity for a large class of women in the South who cannot meet in the street, or store, or car, a well-dressed and comely colored girl without experiencing a pang of suspicion, a spasm of fear. For there arises unbidden, unavoidably, in the minds of such women the ugly question, whose daughter is she, and whose mistress is she to be? For in that girl's veins may flow the proudest blood of the South. And this possibility, aye, probability, so shameful to both races no one in the South knows better than the Southern white woman. What happens? The most natural thing in the world, though not the wisest. The hatred, the suspicion, the fear of these women find expression in scorn, in active ill-will, not only toward that one particular girl, but toward her whole class as well. They are all put under the ban of this accumulated hatred, suspicion and fear.

A hostility, deep-seated and passionate as that which proceeds from white women as a class toward black women as a class, shoots beyond the mark and attacks indiscriminately all colored women without regard to character, without regard to standing or respectability. It is enough that they belong to the black race: ergo, they are bad, ergo, they are dangerous. All this bitter hatred of the women of one race by the women of the other race has borne bitter fruit in the South in merciless class distinctions, in hard and fast caste-

lines, designed to limit contact of the races there at the single point where they come together as superior and inferior. Hence the South has its laws separating the races in schools, in public libraries, in churches, in hotels, in cars, in waiting-rooms, on steamboats, in hospitals, in poorhouses, in prisons, in graveyards. Thus it is intended to reduce the contact of the races to a minimum, to glut at the same time the hatred of the white women of the South to the black women of the South, and to shut the men of each race from the women of the other race. But how foolish are all these laws, how futile are all these class distinctions! Do they really effect the separation of the races? They do not, they cannot under existing conditions. What then do they? They do indeed separate the world of the white man and woman from the colored man and woman, but they fail utterly to separate the world of the colored woman from the white man.

The joint fear of the white woman and the white man is incorporated to-day in every State of the South in laws interdicting intermarriage of the races. But do those laws put an end to the sexual commerce which goes on between the world of the white man and that of the colored woman? Have they checked perceptibly this vile traffic between these two worlds? They have not, nor can they diminish or extinguish this evil. On the contrary, because they divide the two worlds, because they uphold this legal separation of the races, they provide a secret door, a dark way between the two worlds, between the two races, which the men of the upper world open at will and travel at pleasure. For they hold the key to this secret door, the clue to this dark way. Such preventive measures are in truth but a repetition of the fatal folly of the ostrich when it is afraid. For then while this powerful bird takes infinite pains to cover its insignificant front lines, it leaves unprotected its widely extended rear ones, and falls accordingly an easy victim to the enemy which pur-

sues it. The real peril of an admixture of the races in the South lies not in inter-marriage but in concubinage, lies through that secret door which connects the races, the key to which is in the hands of the white men of the South. It is they who first opened it, and it is they who continue to keep it open. Were it not for the folly of the white women of the South, it might yet be closed and sealed. The folly of the white women of the South is their hatred, their fear of the colored women of the South. They first think to rid themselves of the rivalry of the second class by excluding them from the upper world, by shutting them securely within the limits of the lower one. But these women forget the existence of that secret door, of the hidden way. They forget also the hand which holds the key to the one and the clue to the other. That hand is the hand of the white man; it is certainly not that of the colored woman.

Is it not the white women of the South more than any other agency, or than all other agencies put together, who are responsible for the existence of a public sentiment in the South which makes it legally impossible for a colored girl to obtain redress from the white man who betrays her, or support from him for his bastard child? The white woman of the South thus outlaws, thus punishes her black rival. But what does such outlawry accomplish, what such punishment? What do they but add immensely to the strength of the white man's temptation by making such illicit intercourse safe for him to indulge in? Thanks to the white woman's mad hatred of the colored woman, to her insane fear of her colored rival, the white man of the South is enabled to practice with singular impunity this species of polygamy. For the penalties against the adulterer, against the fornicator, which the law provides, which public opinion provides, for him in the upper world, he well knows will not be called down on his head were the acts of adultery or fornication committed by him in the lower world. It is a sad fact and

a terrible one, sad for both races and terrible for the women of both races in the actual and potential wickedness of it. No colored girl, however cruelly wronged by a white man in the South will be able to obtain an iota of justice at the hands of that man in any court of law in any Southern state, or get the slightest hearing or sympathy for her cause at the bar of Southern public opinion. Were she to enter the upper world of the white woman with such a case against some white man, who but the Southern white woman would be the first to drive her back into her world? But unless she is not only allowed but encouraged to emerge out of her world with the shameful fruit of her guilty life and love, and so to confront her white paramour in his world, how is the lower world ever to rid itself of such as she, or the upper one of such as he? In the segregation of the black woman under such conditions lies the white woman's greatest danger, lies the white race's greatest danger from admixture of the races, lies the South's greatest danger to its morals. For through such segregation runs the white man's secret way to the black woman's world, and therefore to miscegenation of the races, to their widespread moral degradation and corruption. Amalgamation is not thereby made hard, but appallingly easy.

But there is another aspect to this side of the subject which must not be entirely ignored, and that is the existence in a few instances of illicit relations between some white women and some colored men in the South. That such relations have existed in the past, and do actually exist there at the present time, there is absolutely no doubt whatever. In certain localities these relations although known or suspected, have been tolerated, while in general as soon as they are discovered or suspected they have been broken up by mobs who murder the black participants when they are caught, sometimes on trumped-up charges of having committed the "usual crime." The existence of such relations is not so strange

or incredible as may be supposed at first hearing of them. For it is a fact hardly less curious, if not so strange, that there are men who while they would not think of marrying into a class beneath them would nevertheless live readily enough in a state of concubinage with women of that class. And in this upper class there are women, not many it is true, who would do the same thing. They care enough for the men in the class beneath them to enter into illicit relations in secret with them, but not enough to enter into illicit relations with these same men in the open, in the gaze of a scornful and horrified world. Has it ever been seriously considered that like father may occasionally produce like daughter in the South? And that such moral lapses by a few white women of that section may be accounted for in part at least by that mysterious law of atavism? The sons are like the fathers in respect to their fondness for colored women, why may not one daughter in, say ten thousand, resemble those fathers in the same shameful, though not altogether unnatural respect? Do not such instances, few and far between at present though they be, furnish matter for grave reflection for the thoughtful people of the South regardless of sex, or race, or color?

Have the white women of the South considered that under existing conditions they are deprived of effective influence, of effective power, to reform the morals of the men of their race? And that unless the morals of the men are reformed the morals of the whole race will eventually decline? If the women fail to lift the level of the moral life of their men to their own higher plane, the lower morals of the men will drag downward ultimately to their level that of the women. From this inevitable conclusion and consequence there is no possible escape. But the white women of the South are powerless to lift the morals of their men without lifting at the same time the morals of the women of the black race. If, however, they steadily refuse to do so in future, as

they have refused to do so in the past, and as they refuse to do so to-day by the only sure means which can and will contribute mightily to effect such a purpose, *viz.*, by making the black women their equals before the law, and at the bar of an enlightened public sentiment, and these women remain in consequence where they are to-day, a snare to the feet of white men, when these men trip over this snare into the hell of the senses, they will drag downward slowly but surely with them toward the level of these self-same black women the moral ideals if not the moral life of the white women of the South.

And now a final word about the black woman of the South: She holds in her keeping the moral weal or woe, not only of her own race, but of the white race also. As she stands to-day in respect to the white man of the South, her situation is full of peril to both races. For she lives in a world where the white man may work his will on her without let or hindrance, outside of law, outside of the social code and moral restraints which protect the white woman. This black woman's extra-legal position in the South, and her extra-social status there, render her a safe quarry for the white man's lust. And she is pursued by him for immoral ends without dread of ill consequences to himself, either legal or social. If she resists his advances, and in many cases she does resist them, he does not abate his pursuit, but redoubles it. Her respectability, her very virtue, makes her all the more attractive to him, spurs the more his sensual desire to get possession of her person. He tracks her, endeavors to snare her in a hundred dark ways and by a hundred crooked means. On the street, in stores, in cars, going to and from church, she encounters this man, bent on her ruin. Into her very home his secret emissaries may attack her with their temptation, with their vile solicitations. Nowhere is she safe, free from his pursuit, because no law protects her, no moral sentiment casts about her person the ægis

of its power. And when haply dazzled by the insignia of his superior class, or his wealth, or the magic of his skin, or the creature comforts which he is able to offer her, she succumbs to his embrace and enters the home to which he invites her, she becomes from that time outlawed in both worlds, a moral plague-spot in the midst of both races. For she begins then to reproduce herself, her wretched history, her sad fate, in the more wretched history, the sadder fate, of her daughters. And so in her world of the senses, of the passions, she enacts in a sort of vicious circle the moral tragedy of two races. If the white man works the moral ruin of her and hers, she and they in turn work upon him and his a moral ruin no less sure and terrible.

What is the remedy? It is certainly not the segregation of the races in a state of inequality before the law. For such segregation exists to-day. It has existed to the hurt of both races in the past. It is the fruitful parent of fearful woes at the present time, and will be the breeder of incalculable mischief for both races, for the South, and for the nation itself, in the future. The remedy lies not then in segregation and inequality, for that is the disease, but in segregation, if America

so wills it, and equality. The double moral standard has to be got rid of as quickly as possible, and a single one erected in its stead, applicable alike to the men and women of both races. The moral world of the white man and that of the black woman must be merged into one by the ministers of law and of religion, by an awakened public conscience and an enlightened and impartial public sentiment, which is the great promoter and upholder of individual and national righteousness. The black woman of the South must be as sacredly guarded as a woman by Southern law and public opinion against the sexual passion and pursuit of the Southern white man as is the Southern white woman. Such equality of condition, of protection, in the South is indispensable to any lasting improvement in the morals of its people, white or black. If that section persists in sowing inequality instead of equality between the races, it must continue to gather the bitter fruits of it in the darkened moral life, in the low moral standards of both races. For what the South sows, whether it be cotton or character, that it shall surely reap.

ARCHIBALD H. GRIMKE.

Boston, Mass.

THE ROMANCE OF THIN TILLY WESTOVER.

BY HELEN C. BERGEN CURTIS.

IT WAS the occasion of a big spectacular performance at a well-known theater in New York city, far-famed for this style of production, that Tilly Westover, suping at twenty-five cents a night, first saw the big scene-shifter called—well, we will call him Sam.

Sam was possessed of rope-like muscles and therein took great pride. "Out of me way," he would call to the huddled "extras," in commanding voice, and even the much-heralded beauty, "star of the

show," had once been known almost to jump aside from the path of this modern Hercules, when he was condescending to assist at the performances of the — theater. For Sam had an air about him which indicated a distinct aloofness from his occupation. He suggested in an indescribable manner that his rightful occupation might be razing castles, tearing up mountains, or pulling down California redwoods; anything rather than such simple, easy work—or so his manner

implied—as that which in reality engaged his distinguished attention.

Tilly Westover, being poor, unknown, and of extremely humble origin, may be simply and accurately described as thin. Under other and more favorable worldly circumstances she would be designated with propriety as “spirituelle,” “lithe,” “willowy,” or something fetching in the way of adjectives. But since she is only Tilly Westover, with the merest apology for a home in an extremely unfashionable, not to say undesirable, part of the city, she may be safely described as thin, and nothing more.

Well, perhaps a little more. For in addition to great paucity of flesh, scattered gingerly over a spare but graceful little frame, she was possessed of a soul capable of great appreciation, which appreciation was bestowed gratuitously and unconditionally on the burly scene-shifter, Sam.

Perhaps it was mental telepathy, and perhaps merely chance, which was responsible for the fact that Sam's big, honest vision was one night attracted to Tilly, standing meek, unobtrusive and thin, in a nook formed by heaped-up properties. There had been other “lady supes” conspicuously resplendent in their spangled finery, and far more advanced in both manner and appearance, who had viewed him with approval; many of whom, in fact, were frequently crudely frank in their manner of procedure to attract his attention, calling softly to him in varying phrase and accent: “Hello, Sandow; let's feel your muscle.” But one and all of the “lady supes” had failed to make a hit with Sam, until he saw Tilly with furtive glance resting her eyes on him, as she stood half-hidden in her improvised retreat waiting to “go on.”

He was too rushed at the moment to lend any formality to his greeting of her, even had he been so inclined. He had a firm grip on his end of a big “shift” which he was trying to land in the vicinity of Tilly's vantage-ground. His business-like, and it may be added, characteristic

greeting was in this wise: “Hully gee! get outer de way. Do n't yer hear the 'sistant stage-director shoutin' 'overture'?”

Tilly obeyed with alacrity. For the rest of the evening she felt less alone, as if, strange miracle of emotions, a strong arm were protecting her; she could not have explained it for the life of her, but intuitively she realized that something, as yet intangible, but sweet, had entered her hitherto dull and uneventful life, for the honest eyes had looked straight into hers, and the glance was kindly.

The next night Tilly longed to place herself in the same position just to be ordered away, that she might reëxperience the exultant thrill contingent on the discovery that she found favor in a strong man's eyes. But courage failed her, or inherent modesty prevailed, and she seated herself instead on a huge coil of rope at the extreme rear of the stage.

At identically the same moment almost, as on the night before, Sam would be steering his end of the big scene to its temporary resting-place; perhaps someone was standing where she had stood, and he would later address her in that commanding tone, that still lingered in Tilly's heart, a joyous memory. A jealous twinge almost lifted her from the coil of rope on which she sat at the mere thought.

“Overture,” called the assistant stage-director. “Overture,” she heard him calling, first on one side then on the other. She arose, shook out her tinselled gown, then instinctively felt for the toy crown upon her head, as the familiar strains of the music, which announced the supers' cue, reached her ears. Others also in tinsel gowns were crowding about her; some with wings and some with wands; the “star” stood in the front right-wing. Miss Westover took her place with the other “supers” engaged to fill in the ranks of the chorus in the opening scene.

The snare-drum tattoo reverberated thrillingly. It filled her with more than the usual exhilaration on this wonderful night. There was an inarticulate and

suspicious grunt in the vicinity of the calcium-light man; a faint, whirring sound and the curtain was going up. The much-heralded beauty, "star of the show," flanked and backed by shimmering cohorts, burst forth on the gaze of an impatient audience. But what mattered it to Tilly Westover? The wild billows of applause, and the air vibrant with wondering murmurs of finely-costumed women and immaculately-garbed men. Her god was back of the scenes. Her god was to her greater than all these. Her heart beat high above the clapping of hands it seemed to her, for her god had addressed her, in homely phrase to be sure, but nevertheless addressed her; "Straighten yer crown," he had said; "it's dead leary; shove her to starboard."

A rapture, delicate yet well-defined, stole into Tilly's little starved heart and lent wings to her feet as she tripped through the mazes of the fantastic march, while the orchestra kept up the inspiring melody that set the incorrigible gallery-gods to whistling and keeping time with their feet. The entire house seemed lifted out of itself in a passing spasm of prismatic emotion. The "promoters" of the show standing in the wings, tried at first to conceal their joy under a look of bland and prosperous indifference, failed, then shook each other's hands and roared incoherent congratulations at each other with cigars, unlighted, in their lips, and the latest thing in derbies set well back on their heads.

Out "in front" the author of the libretto modestly concealed among friends in an upper box, was secretly lamenting that the music was so mediocre for so fine a book, while opposite, in another upper box, the long-haired "musicianer," who had contrived the score, felt acutely aggrieved that the "book" was so bad, when the music was so superior. Yet each genius, nevertheless, felt like throwing his opera hat—secured on credit for the occasion—into the air, the while he sat outwardly calm and quite imperial in a rented dress-suit, and gleaming linen

purchased at the bargain-counter of a department-store, thinking how this, his first "hit," would enhance his prestige along Broadway. The Wall-street speculator forgot stocks and tickers for awhile and revelled in dreams recalled of his boyhood. The *blasé* society-woman over there in the lower stage-box at the right, gowned in mauve satin, with its cold silver embroidery, resplendent in hard, glittering, white diamonds, smiled unconsciously, thus partially effacing the set expression of placidity about the mouth, remembering vividly other less prosperous but infinitely, as seen by her in the music-set retrospection, more satisfactory days.

As far as the audience had power to observe everything was running with satisfaction and despatch.

Behind the scenes consternation reigned.

It started in this way: there was a slight commotion in the wings when it was discovered that Miss—well, we will call her Miss St. Clair—had fallen in a faint and would have to be sent home. Miss St. Clair had but one line to speak, yet, as often happens, it was a line of some importance, not so much in itself as in relation to the production as a whole. To pick out a girl adequately to take her place at a moment's notice was really a matter of more difficulty than it might seem to the average person inexperienced in things theatrical. For there was a certain amount of stage-business went with the line.

Sam, the gigantic scene-shifter, was on the alert. He had been employed at this particular theater for five years and was a person of some consequence. "Excuse me, boss," he said suddenly to an anxious-looking man, "but there goes a girl could do the business. I'll put her on to de line meself."

The stage-director and the two "promoters" stood a gaping trio; the latter two now had their derbies tilted far down over their noses, while their cigars slanted acutely upward toward the down-slanting rims. "Her?" they ejaculated all in most unison.

"Her," retorted Sam, apparently stirred to the verge of mutiny by their tone.

"She'd queer it to beat h—," was the prompt rejoinder of the anxious stage-director.

"Naw, she would n't," retorted Sam strenuously.

"It can't be done," snapped the stage-director in his turn. "You go on with your business."

Sam suddenly took on a placid and exasperatingly inactive look. "It's a difficult set, the next one," he said slowly, "and needs a firm hand and a knowin' one at de head of de push. Either she goes on as de guy wid de line, or I quits—on de spot, too."

The stage-director looked volumes, but he was too staggered to retort, and simply glared at the doughty knight of the scenes and the girl.

"Perhaps we—" ventured the "promoters."

The stage-director cut them short with a mighty sneer, then snorted forth to the waiting giant: "Get your girl and coach her on the line as soon as you have the set finished. You have plenty of time. She won't get a chance to queer the show till the middle of the act. To-morrow, report at the office of Mr. Squires—you know him I guess."

Sam turned away without loss of time and applied himself vigorously to the work of the moment, while the stage-director went down to the basement dressing-room and sought out thin Tilly Westover, who was busily putting a lavish layer of powder over her exposed shoulders. Calling her to him, he briefly explained what he wanted her to do, referring her to Sam for further instructions.

"I know the line and business perfectly," said Tilly promptly. "I can do it."

"What relation is that scene-shifter to you?" asked the stage-director brusquely.

"None yet," returned Tilly, and then giggled girl-wise, and continued: "I'll go see what he's got to say about this."

The stage-director followed the hurrying figure meekly. "Who'd have thought it?" he was saying to himself. "These thin girls always have so much more in them than one would expect." The two "promoters" looked up at him anxiously. "It's all right," he said before they could frame a sentence; "she's game, and a brave exponent of the eternal feminine; she's gone to let her young man get in his little instructions, and feel his importance in consequence, although she does not need them anymore than I do."

The curtain went up and the act was on. At the right moment thin Tilly Westover acquitted herself with extreme credit. After the "show" Sam asked if he might see her home. She said he might, and with beating heart went out at his side, while the rest of the "lady supes," whose manners in this instance might have been better, either punched each other and giggled, or stared in undisguised amazement.

"Will you be my special?" asked Sam on the way home. Tilly looked properly bashful, and protested that she did not know him well enough.

"Aw, go on," said the scene-shifter bluntly, "don't yer 'spose I've seen yer lookin' at me all durin' the rehearsals?"

"Lots of people look at you," protested Tilly, "because—because you're so big—you've big, strong arms—and—and—you're a very strong man."

"Yes," said Sam, without any pretense of false modesty, "I can't deny as people look at me, but yer see I don't look at many; and," he added with an infinitely tender look at the girl by his side, "they don't all look just as you have. If you want me take me. I am not the man as will be turned down twict runnin'."

"I'll take you," said thin Tilly Westover, palpitatingly.

The next day Sam presented himself before the manager. Mr. Squires looked at a slip of paper he held in his hand and then at the strapping, well-set-up young

fellow before him, and mentally called the stage-director a fool. "You are reported for insubordination," began the manager slowly, noting Sam's powerful biceps with respect; "have you anything to say?"

"She got along all right; she done fine," was Sam's irrelevant rejoinder.

"She? Oh, that thin Westover girl. Yes, I understand she acquitted herself with credit. The line not only served as an explanatory link, but caught the house the way she gave it. Now that is the idea," continued the manager dreamily, "catch the house every time you can"—then, pulling himself together with an effort, he resumed: "You know, Sam, for the sake of discipline the scene-shifters must be held in check. Now you——"

He paused. "What was the use?" he reasoned wearily with himself; "the girl had saved the show virtually, and the man fancied the girl. He himself had been under a nervous strain for weeks from cares incidental to this immense production, and its highly successful opening had lifted the strain but to leave him world-weary and bereft of vitality. But he pushed on. "You know you might have caused serious trouble last night."

Sam rested first on one foot and then on another, but said nothing.

"You see," continued the stage-manager lamely, "you see—hang it, man, have n't you anything to say?"

"Nothin', Mr. Squires, only you see it was this way; I seen Tilly's chanst an' stepped in wid me bluff. She's me steady now for fair, an' she says if I'll hunch up a bit on me grammar she's won fer life. You can't win a girl wid-out doin' somethin' fer her. I done all I could." And Sam relapsed into tender reminiscent silence.

Mr. Squires leaned back in his office-chair, and shutting one eye, fastened the

other on the man before him. Finally he turned his face toward the desk, saying shortly: "That's all."

"Do I hold me job?" asked the other.

"I do n't see why not," was the terse rejoinder. "Good-bye."

That night, as Sam left the theater with thin Tilly Westover tripping along by his side, he was handed a small package neatly done up and inscribed with his name. He put it in his pocket, but at the first electric-light the couple came to, on their way to the "L" station, Sam halted and bade Tilly turn her head away, while he hastily undid the package. Tilly being only human, found it hard to comply, but did so. Later she lost her temper because he refused to tell her what was in the white paper.

Sam bantered and put her off. "Wait till we're spliced, Tilly," he said, "then no secrets shall come between us twain." With this rudely transposed sentiment from a class of novels with which her future husband was familiar, Tilly Westover was obliged to be content.

When Sam got home, he sat down, and lighting a five-cent cigar with a great flourish of match, and much apparent satisfaction, drew forth the article from its paper wrapper, and proceeded to apply himself to the cause of Tilly's wrath with corrugated brow that contrasted strangely with the complacent smile that lurked in the corners of his mouth.

At daylight he laid down his gift. The pallid, northern sun of winter rising languidly sent a shy shaft of light into the shabby little room which lingered on an English grammar, on the blank page of which was written in a broad, sweeping hand: "From your friend and well-wisher, Charles Squires, manager of the — theater, New York city."

HELEN C. BERGEN CURTIS.
New York City.

ART AND LIFE.

Charles H. Grant's "Nearing Port."

OUR ART feature this month is "Nearing Port," by Mr. Charles H. Grant. In describing this picture the well-known author, Mr. George Wharton James whose delightful paper on Mr. Grant and his work appeared last month, says:

"'Nearing Port' is one of Mr. Grant's most popular and at the same time, happy efforts. After a long and prosperous voyage this sturdy ship is nearing port. The sailors are happy, the weather is auspicious, the breeze is good. Some of the men are aloft clewing-up the top-sails, others in are out on the end of the flying-jib boom taking in the jibs. Everywhere are evidences that the ship is reaching home. There is a general clearing and cleaning up that she may present as good an appearance as possible. In the mid-distance is a steamer outward-bound, the effect of the one heightening that of the other. The sunshine strikes the sails of the ship, casting shadows one upon another, while the blue sky in the back-ground is flecked with large fleecy clouds, full of wind and sunshine that so cheer the heart of the home-coming sailor. Photographs of this picture of Mr. Grant's occupy honored places on the walls of many men noted for their seaman-ship, such men as Sir Thomas Lipton having highly commended its author for the life, power, vigor and skill it displays."

Edwin Markham's Great Poem, "The Leader of the People."

THE POET is one of the chief agents in the ethical or spiritual forward march of man. He appeals to the imagination and stimulates the emotional nature to its profoundest depths. The imagery he brings before the mind lives in the heart of the people as a fruitful seed which in time germinates, buds, blooms and ripens into rich fruition. In our day we have a multitude of verse-writers but unfortunately very few poets; scores of men and women who can string words together so that they yield a pleasing rhythm and convey perhaps lessons of value, but which are wanting in that stamp of genius which is the hall-mark of true poetry—imagination.

Of our true poets of the New World Edwin Markham is in our judgment easily the premier. Certainly he is, as a distinguished

English critic in a personal letter to us observed, the greatest poet of democracy of our age. For this reason we could heartily wish that his really great poems could be circulated by the millions throughout the land. They would achieve a great work for democracy.

During the wonderful humanitarian renaissance in England, which extended throughout the second quarter of the nineteenth century and turned the face of the government toward democracy and economic independence, achieving the passage of the Reform Bill and the repeal of the Corn Laws, one of the most potent factors in the battle for freedom and justice was the impassioned poetry of the day. Ebenezer Eliot, Gerald Massey, Charles Mackay and Thomas Hood contributed in a positive manner to the cause of freedom, and even Lord Bulwer, at least on one occasion, came so compellingly under the spell that he penned one of the most graphic and thought-inspiring pictures of the death-dealing influence of commercialism that we have in literature.

Some thoughtful friends have urged us to give our readers from month to month one or two great poems of progress from the masters. Though THE ARENA does not publish original poetry, we have after mature deliberation decided to give our readers a series which shall embrace each month one or two of the great poems of the foremost prophet voices of democracy, and this series we have opened by special arrangement with Mr. Markham by the publication of his fine poem, "The Leader of the People," and have supplemented it with a few stanzas dealing with the mission of America, taken from his notable creation, "The Errand Imperious," in which, after describing England, Russia, Germany and the "elder kingdoms by the Midland Sea," he pictures the august mission of the great Republic—the mission which it is the duty of each, in so far as lies within his power, to seek to realize.

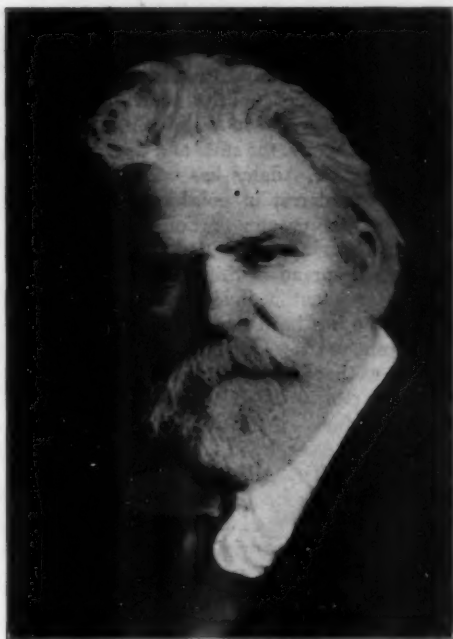
"THE LEADER OF THE PEOPLE."

"Swung in the purpose of the upper sphere,
We sweep on to the century anear.
But something makes the heart of man forebode:
There is a new Sphinx watching by the road!
Its name is Labor, and the world must hear—
Must hear and answer its dread Question—yea,
Or perish as the tribes of yesterday.
Thunder and Earthquake crouch beyond the gate;
But fear not: man is greater than his fate.



"NEARING PORT."

From a Painting by Charles H. Grant. Published by Special Permission.



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EDWIN MARKHAM.

For one will come with Answer—with a word
Wherein the whole world's gladness shall be heard;
One who will feel the grief in every breast,
The heart-cry of humanity for rest.

So we await the Leader to appear,
Lover of men, thinker and doer and seer,
The hero who will fill the labor throne
And build the Comrade Kingdom, stone by stone;
That Kingdom that is greater than the Dream
Breaking through ancient vision, gleam by gleam—
Something that Song alone can faintly feel,
And only Song's wild rapture can reveal.

Thrilled by the Cosmic Oneness he will rise,
Youth in his heart and morning in his eyes;
While glory fallen from the far-off goal
Will send mysterious splendor on his soul.
Him shall all toilers know to be their friend;
Him shall they follow faithful to the end.
Though every leaf were a tongue to cry, 'Thou
must!'

He will not say the unjust thing is just.
Not all the fiends that curse in the eclipse
Shall shake his heart or hush his lyric lips.
His cry for justice, it will stir the stones
From Hell's black granite to the seraph thrones!
Earth listens for the coming of his feet;
The hushed Fates lean expectant from their seat.
He will be calm and reverent and strong,
And, carrying in his words the fire of song,
Will send a hope upon those weary men,
A hope to make the heart grow young again,
A cry to comrades scattered and afar:
Be constellated, star by circling star;

*Give to all mortals justice and forgive:
License must die that liberty may live.
Let Love shine through the fabric of the State—
Love deathless, Love whose other name is Fate.
Fear not: we cannot fail—
The Vision will prevail.
Truth is the Oath of God, and, sure and fast,
Through Death and Hell holds onward to the last."*

"But hearken, my America, my own,
Great Mother, with the hill-flower in your hair!
Diviner is that light you bear alone,
That dream that keeps your face forever fair.

Imperious is your errand and sublime,
And that which binds you is Orion's band.
For some large Purpose, since the youth of time,
You were kept hidden in the Lord's right hand.

You were kept hidden in a secret place,
With white Sierras, white Niagaras—
Hid under stalwart stars in this far space,
Ages ere Tadmor or the man of Uz.

'T is yours to bear the World-State in your dream,
To strike down Mammon and his brazen breed,
To build the Brother-Future, beam on beam;
Yours, mighty one, to shape the Mighty Deed.

The armed heavens lean down to hear your fame,
America: rise to your high-born part!
The thunders of the sea are in your name,
The splendors and the terrors in your heart."

Dr. G. Cooke Adams.

MR. G. COOKE ADAMS, who contributes a valuable paper to this issue of THE ARENA on "State-Owned Savings-Banks," is not only a physician of international reputation but he is a close student of political science and economic advance whose extended personal investigations and thorough personal familiarity with public-ownership and operation of natural monopolies entitle his views to special consideration.

Dr. Adams was born in Sydney, New South Wales. When fifteen years of age he was articulated to the City Engineer of Sydney under the Municipal Council for a period of five years. He remained in the service of the city two years after his apprenticeship had ended. Later he served as engineer in the general service, engaging in many important municipal and government-owned utilities. The last notable work entrusted to him was the new system of sewerage of Sydney.

He had early become interested in general sanitary advance and determined to study medicine and surgery. Accordingly he entered the Sydney University and from there went to London and Edinburgh, where he took his degrees in medicine and surgery.



Photo. by Melba, Melbourne, Australia.

DR. G. COOKE ADAMS.

Later he came to Canada and from there to the United States.

During all this time he had taken the deepest interest in the happiness, development and well-being of the people, making a close study of political, social and economic conditions in Australasia, England, Canada and the United States. In Australia Dr. Adams was for several years intimately associated with the political leaders. For many years he was the family physician of Sir Edmund Barton, the first prime-minister of the commonwealth, and at the invitation of Sir Edmund and Mr. Deakin, the present prime-minister, he sat with these gentlemen in the House of Commons when the Federal Bill passed its final reading.

He has served as Hon. Surgeon to the Australian Naval Forces for some years and has thus become deeply interested in the proposed navy for Australia.

Dr. Adams is a strong believer in public-ownership and operation of public utilities, his studies having led him to the same conclusions arrived at by the majority of the more thoughtful, unprejudiced and disinterested men and women who realize that private corporations operating the great natural monopo-

lies of the nation will soon find it to their interest to control that nation for the exploitation of the people, and thus become the chief fountain-heads of political corruption, graft and the lowering of moral idealism in the individual, the city, the state and the nation.

Though Dr. Adams has taken a deep and intelligent interest in political and economic problems, the greater portion of his time has recently been given to the study of cancer. The rapid spread of this disease in Australia called for scientific investigation, and to this subject he has been devoting much time during recent years. One of the most thoughtful papers we have read on this subject appeared from his pen in *The Empire Review* of London, for March of this year, and was entitled "Cancer Research in Australia." In this contribution Dr. Adams holds that "cancer is not due to a bacterial or parasitic origin, but is a constitutional disease due to a specific or malignant virus originating in the blood," "in the form of an unknown chemical constituent which, for the purpose of description," he terms "malignic acid." "This constituent is capable of gradually becoming virulent under certain bad climatic, hygienic, dietetic and social conditions of life."

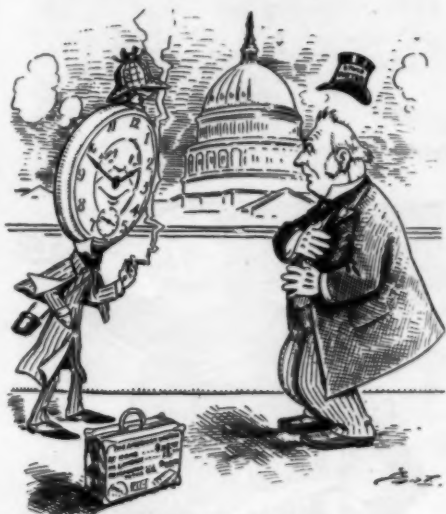
He holds that "the principal dietetic factors in the cause of cancer are sugar, beer and alcohol, and the principal hygienic factors forests, whose dropping foliage, decomposing, produces stagnation of water; drainage; overcrowding, and poor food."

He believes that "cancer is a preventable disease and the absolute cure is only to be found in the means for preventing its exciting causes and completely removing them."

He also holds that "the sanitary indigenous foliage of the following natural orders: *myrtaceæ*, *lauraceæ*, *coniferæ*, exerts a specific influence in rendering the native-born population of the countries where they grow almost immune from cancer. The Australian Eucalypts, belonging to the *myrtaceæ*, exert the greatest influence in this direction."

He holds that "'Mulyptol,' a eucalyptus oil obtained by means of a scientific preparation from various species grown in Australia, possesses a specific action in arresting the pathological progress and process of malignant disease," and that "all internal and local treatment of a poisonous or irritating nature should be absolutely avoided, more particularly such local treatment as the X-Rays and Finsen's Light, as they are likely to set up secondary conditions around the site of lesion."

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Bartholomew, in Minneapolis Journal.

WATCHING THE TARIFF.

STANDPATTER—What time is it, Mr. American Watch?
AMERICAN WATCH—Time for tariff revision, I should say, when I can pay \$13.38 for a trip abroad and sell for \$10 less on my return than if I had not gone abroad.



Macauley, in New York World.

THE MAN WITH THE WHITEWASH.

(With apologies to the Man with the Muck-Rake.)



Bartholomew, in Minneapolis Journal.

SAME OLD GAME.

KING COAL—Heads I win, tails you lose.



Bartholomew, in Minneapolis Journal.

AND CONGRESS SITS 'ROUND ALL DAY.

INDUSTRY—What a lot of use I could make of that boy if it wasn't for those ridiculous stilts.



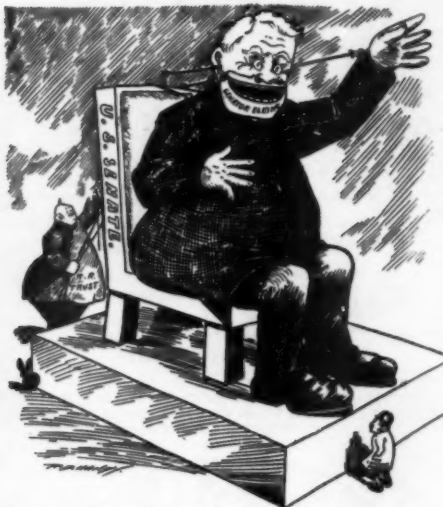
Warren, in Boston Herald.
MORE SIGNS OF SPRING—BUT NOT THE SORT OF
SPRING WE WANT.



Spencer, in Lincoln (Neb.) Commoner.
BUT ARE THE PEOPLE POWERLESS?



B. S., in Columbia (S. C.) State.
THE "STAND-PAT" GRIP.



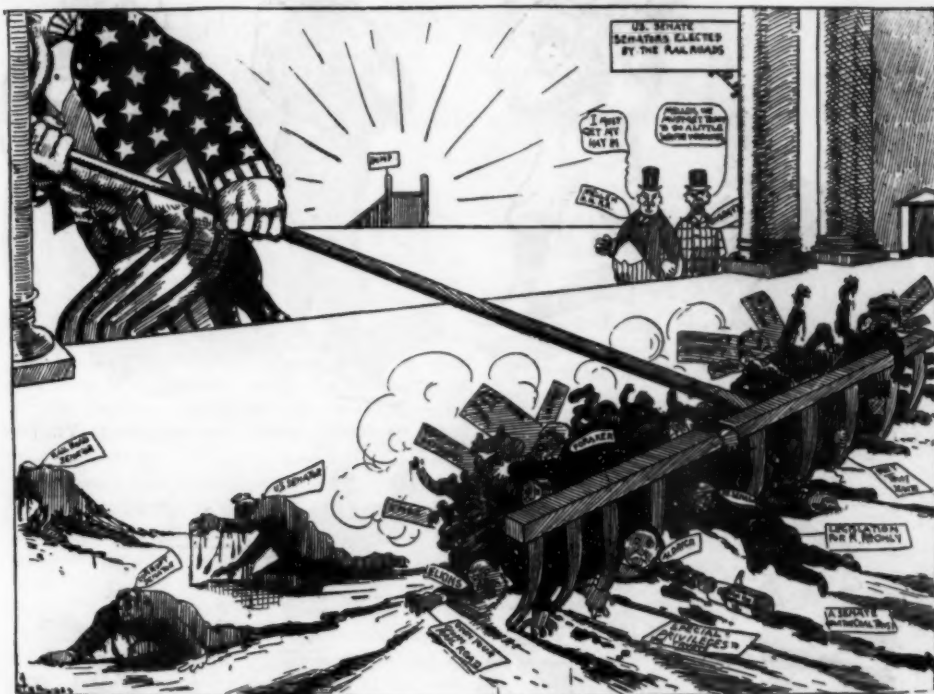
Handy, in Duluth News-Tribune.
REPRESENTING THE PEOPLE.



Macauley, in New York World.
BORROWED PLUMAGE.



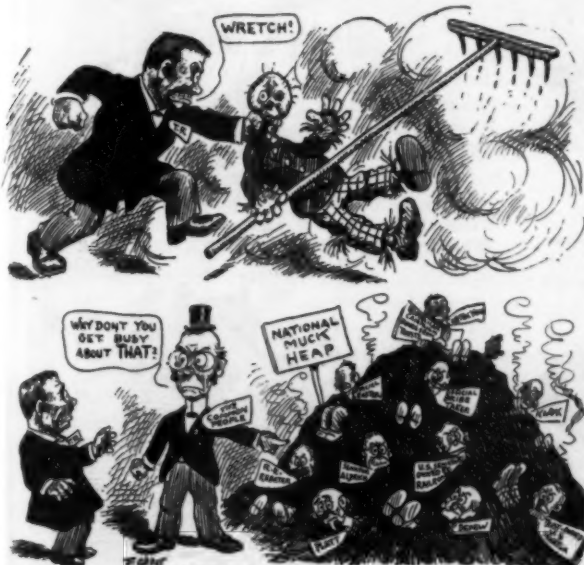
Bartholomew, in Minneapolis Journal.
ANOTHER RISE IN GASOLINE.
THE NURSE—The dear child needs a baby-carriage.
JOHN D.—To be sure; I'll just pull the other leg a bit.



Powers, in Boston American.

(Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

THEY DO N'T LIKE THE "MUCK-RAKE."



Opfer, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

WOULD N'T IT MAKE YOU MAD—

1. After you had made a thrilling attack on the "Man with the Muck-Rake," and you had swatted and lambasted him in the most merciless manner—

2. If you suddenly learned that you ought to have attacked the Muck-Heap instead of the Muck-Rake. Would n't it *des-press* you?



Williams, in Philadelphia North American.

COAL TRUST—Have you no pity on this poor man?

"Where is the advance to come from if it is not charged up to the consumer of domestic coal?"—*From the Railroads' answer to the Miners.*



Jack, in the Pueblo Star-Journal.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE PEOPLE CANNOT HOPE TO SCORE WHILE THE TRUSTS HAVE THE UMPIRE WITH THEM.



Warren, in the Boston Herald.

THE TIDE INSURGENT.

King Joe Kan(ou)te—"It's no use, boys, I'm afraid I can't stop it—it simply won't obey me!"



Warren, in the Boston Herald.

TRYING TO HIT TWO BIRDS WITH ONE PIECE OF COAL.



Morris, in the Spokane Spokesman-Review.

"STRIKE AND BE D—D! WHILE YOU EAT YOUR-SELF POOR I'LL SELL MYSELF RICH."



Bengough, in the Chicago Public.

SUBSTANCE AND SHADOW.

The Beef Trust Criminal: No, Mr. Policeman; the judge says you can't touch me; I have taken the immunity bath. But you can put my shadow under arrest, you know, and send it to jail if found guilty!

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE MUCK-RAKE *versus* THE MUCK.

The Attempt of The Special-Pleaders For The Criminal Rich to Distort The President's Speech Into a Condemnation of Those Who Are Leading The Battle For Common Honesty and Moral Idealism.

HOWEVER much those who appreciate the importance of pressing the war for civic righteousness, until the great rogues in the business world and the corruptors of government and the grafters are driven from the seats of the mighty in business and state, may regret that President Roosevelt has given the agents and hirelings of the alarmed criminal rich and the corrupt political bosses the opportunity to pretend that he assailed the great magazine writers, whose fearless and nobly patriotic work has contributed in so large a way to the moral renaissance that is terrifying the evil-doers, there was nothing in Mr. Roosevelt's description of what he considered as a "muck-rake man" or in his censure of him that would not be seconded—heartily seconded—by any of the high-minded and patriotic men and women whose labors in the past have been so fruitful and whose work to-day is taking hold of the imagination of all men and women of conscience and conviction who dare to think and who care more for the eternal moral verities than they do for personal ambition or the favor of the powerful ones whose wealth is the result of indirection and unjust practices.

It is perhaps not strange, however, that the champions of the plutocracy in their despair for their masters, whose criminal deeds are being exposed, persist in applying the President's opprobrious epithet to the persons who are in every particular the reverse of what Mr. Roosevelt characterized as the "muck-rake man."—It is therefore peculiarly unfortunate that the President's speech, which the enemies of civic righteousness are using as justification for their attacks and for the purpose of discouraging the rising tide of public interest in favor of pure government, should be so timed as to give aid and comfort to the criminal rich and powerful who shrink in terror at the prospect of further investigations and exposures

of their corrupt practices. In a great moral crisis like the present, when an aroused public conscience is seeking to unhorse and to banish the great criminals in the business world and their powerful allies in political life, all friends of morality should unite to bring to a successful termination the warfare against the guilty, and by no possible word or act should any one seek to discourage the forces of moral progress.

An analysis of the President's words in his famous "muck-rake" address shows that he very carefully refrained from criticizing the men and women who have become a terror to the evil-doers and to whom the friends of business and political integrity are so largely indebted for the present moral awakening in civic and business life.

President Roosevelt's Description of The Man With The Muck-Rake.

The papers owned and controlled by the interests that are alarmed over the public awakening and the general demand that the criminal rich no less than the criminal poor shall receive justice, have been so quick to attempt to convey the idea that the President strove to discredit the magazine writers who have unmasked corrupt conditions and who are exposing to the reading public the secret wellsprings of political debauchery that make possible continued corruption and unjust and oppressive legislation, that we feel it necessary to show the falsity of their inferences and also to point out how unequivocally the President defended the work of the great magazine writers. In describing his conception of the "man with the muck-rake" President Roosevelt said, according to the authorized copy of his address as published in the *Outlook*:

"In *Pilgrim's Progress* the Man with the Muck-Rake is set forth as the example of him whose vision is fixed on carnal instead of spiritual things. Yet he also typifies the man who in this life consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing. Now, it is very necessary that we

should not flinch from seeing what is vile and debasing. There is filth on the floor, and it must be scraped up with the muck-rake; and there are times and places where this service is the most needed of all the services that can be performed. But the man who never does anything else, who never thinks or speaks or writes, save of his feats with the muck-rake, speedily becomes, not a help to society, not an incitement to good, but one of the most potent forces for evil.

"The liar is no whit better than the thief, and if his mendacity takes the form of slander he may be worse than most thieves. It puts a premium upon knavery untruthfully to attack an honest man, or even with hysterical exaggeration to assail a bad man with untruth.

"An epidemic of indiscriminate assault upon character does no good, but very great harm.

"One of the chief counts against those who make indiscriminate assault upon men in business or men in public life is that they invite a reaction which is sure to tell powerfully in favor of the unscrupulous scoundrel who really ought to be attacked, who ought to be exposed, who ought, if possible, to be put in the penitentiary.

"The effort to make financial or political profit out of the destruction of character can only result in public calamity. Gross and reckless assaults on character, whether on the stump or in newspaper, magazine, or book, create a morbid and vicious public sentiment.

"But remember that even in the case of crime, if it is attacked in sensational, lurid, and untruthful fashion, the attack may do more damage to the public mind than the crime itself. It is because I feel that there should be no rest in the endless war against the forces of evil that I ask that the war be conducted with sanity as well as with resolution.

"If the whole picture is painted black, there remains no hue whereby to single out the rascals for distinction from their fellows.

"To assail the great and admitted evils of our political and industrial life with such crude and sweeping generalizations as to include decent men in the general condemnation

means the searing of the public conscience. There results a general attitude either of cynical belief in and indifference to public corruption or else of a distrustful inability to discriminate between the good and the bad.

"The fool who has not sense to discriminate between what is good and what is bad is well-nigh as dangerous as the man who does discriminate and yet chooses the bad.

"Hysterical sensationalism is the very poorest weapon wherewith to fight for lasting righteousness."

These, we believe, are all the words used by the President either as descriptive of his conception of the muck-raker or in condemnation of him. They are merely a string of general platitudes which no one will question and as to the truth of which no persons would more emphatically agree than the great magazine writers who have forced the public to take cognizance of evils that flourish in consequence of the partnership of the criminal rich and the privileged interests on the one hand, and the political bosses, the manipulators of the money-controlled machines and the political henchmen of corrupt wealth in government on the other.

The President's Praise For Magazine Writers Who Faithfully and Conscientiously Unmask Corrupt Conditions.

But lest he be misunderstood as the plutocratic and Wall-street organs have insisted on misunderstanding him, President Roosevelt went out of his way to describe the army of magazine writers who have forced the nation to take cognizance of corrupt conditions that mark so much of modern business life, especially where there exists a community of interests between political bosses and machine politicians and privileged wealth. Hence we find him saying:

"There are, in the body politic, economic and social, many and grave evils, and there is urgent necessity for the sternest war upon them. There should be relentless exposure of and attack upon every evil man, whether politician or business man, every evil practice, whether in politics, in business, or in social life. I hail as a benefactor every writer or speaker, every man who, on the platform, or in book, magazine or newspaper, with merci-

less severity makes such attack, provided always that he in his turn remembers that the attack is of use only if it is absolutely truthful.

"At the risk of repetition let me say again that my plea is, not for immunity to but for the most unsparing exposure of the politician who betrays his trust, of the big business man who makes or spends his fortune in illegitimate or corrupt ways. There should be a resolute effort to hunt every such man out of the position he has disgraced. Expose the crime, and hunt down the criminal.

"The men who, with stern sobriety and truth, assail the many evils of our time, whether in the public press, or in magazines, or in books, are the leaders and allies of all engaged in the work for social and political betterment."

**The Compulsion of Moral Idealism Has
Led The Magazine Writers to
Battle Against Corruption
in High Places.**

That the President did not mean and could not have meant the men and women who have wrought so nobly and effectively in arousing a healthy moral sentiment is apparent from his description of the man with the muck-rake as the man who "consistently refuses to see aught that is lofty, and fixes his eyes with solemn intentness only on that which is vile and debasing."

Not one of the men or women that the criminal rich and the corrupt political bosses so dread comes under the head of this description. They are without exception earnest, high-minded men and women under the compulsion of moral idealism, who because they believed and felt within their souls that the heart of the people was sound and that if the people could realize the nature and extent of the corruption that was undermining the Republic and rapidly lowering the ethical standards of the various communities, they would punish the evil-doers and drive the faithless servants from their high-places, they have dared to take up the unwelcome fight against the most powerful and wealthy men and organizations in the Republic. We venture the statement that there is not in the United States to-day another band of high-minded, intelligent and conscientious workers who have greater faith in the power of moral ideals, greater faith in the future of free government, greater love for that which is noble, just and true, greater devotion to the Republic, or

more moral heroism than the men and women who in the great magazines have so fearlessly, toilsomely, ably and effectively battled to expose rotten conditions in modern high finance, the trusts, the corporations and in public life. America owes a lasting debt of gratitude to such patriotic writers as Rudolph Blankenburg, Lincoln Steffens, David Graham Phillips, Ida Tarbell, Hon. J. Warner Mills, Charles E. Russell, John Brisben Walker, Thomas W. Lawson and Upton Sinclair for their fearless and vitally important uncovering of political and business immorality that has degraded our public life and demoralized business ethics. In almost if not indeed in every instance they have had to face the savage attacks of the agents and hirelings of the corrupt element and not unfrequently also those of slothful conservatism, which gauges success in life by the acquisition of wealth regardless of how that wealth has been acquired. They were denounced as sensation-mongers, as reckless falsifiers and as shameful exaggerators of the facts they portrayed by those who dared not challenge them to prove their charges in the courts. And yet in every instance, when investigation has followed these exposures, the facts brought to light have been so much worse than the worst that had been charged that the exposures make tame reading in comparison with the revelations that have followed.

Take, for example, the series of papers prepared for THE ARENA by Rudolph Blankenburg and published during the first nine months of last year. These exposures showed in detail the rise and onward march of an appalling and almost incredible reign of corruption, due to the union of the great public-service corporations and other privileged interests of Philadelphia with the political bosses, Quay, Penrose and Durham. They showed the depths of degradation to which Philadelphia had been dragged by the Republican machine, presided over by Durham and backed by the multi-millionaire corruptionists who controlled the public-service corporations and through them were systematically plundering the city. The ARENAS containing this series of papers were regularly mailed by us to every important daily and weekly newspaper of Pennsylvania, while the morally alive men and women of the commonwealth were quick to read and circulate this story of political shame, in the hope—considered by many vain—that the people could be aroused from their lethargy. Their hopes were real-

ized. The papers crystallized public sentiment. A tremendous moral awakening followed which shook the state machine to its foundations and overthrew Boss Durham and his corrupt hosts. And the revelations that came in the wake of this popular uprising and which have been disclosed since make the previous charges of Mr. Blankenburg appear tame in the extreme.

Few men were more recklessly denounced than was Thomas W. Lawson for his charges against the insurance companies. He and the *New York World* were unsparingly attacked as recklessly unscrupulous sensation-mongers. Governor Higgins long positively refused to allow the legislature to investigate the insurance scandal, declaring there was nothing brought out sufficient to warrant such investigation; and all the power of Wall-street high financiers, of the political machine of New York State, and of the recreant officials was brought to bear in the hope of heading off the investigation which an aroused public sentiment finally forced. The American public knows the result. All the charges made before the investigation, which were denounced as calumnies and base slanders, were not only verified, but the revelations of corruption, dishonesty and general all-round rascality on the part of the insurance corporations and the people's mis-representatives were so much greater than any critic had charged that the ante-investigation exposures appeared insipid beside the sworn testimony brought out at the Armstrong investigation.

And what is true in the cases of Pennsylvania and the insurance investigation has been true in every instance where a thorough investigation has followed the charges of the magazine writers.

Absurdity and Insincerity of The Charge of Recklessness and Untruthfulness Made Against The Magazine Writers.

To the thoughtful man or woman nothing is more apparent than the absurdity and insincerity of the charge made by the "kept" editors of corporation-owned organs, that the great magazine writers who have been so largely responsible for the unmasking of corruption and criminality in high places are reckless, untruthful slanderers or exaggerators of facts. The charge is made not merely to discredit high-minded and incorruptible writers, but in the hope of diverting the attention

of the public from the great criminals who are quaking lest they be overtaken by investigations similar to that conducted by Mr. Hughes, and also because they know that when the people realize the relation existing between the privileged interests, the party-bosses and money-controlled machines and the agents of plutocracy in official positions, there will be a revolution in comparison with which the upheavals of last autumn will appear insignificant.

The absurdity of the charge of recklessness or untruthfulness will become apparent to the thoughtful reader when he remembers that no one knows better than the writers and the magazine editors who are upholding the ideals and honor of free government, that the men and corporations criticized are fabulously rich; that they have also in their employ the ablest and most influential lawyers in America; and our courts have never displayed any disposition to be unduly severe with corporate wealth. Now if the writers in question had made one false or scandalous statement which they could not have substantiated, they would have laid themselves liable to criminal libel suits and they and their journals would have been prosecuted without delay.

When *Everybody's Magazine* announced that Mr. Lawson would expose the Standard Oil crowd in regard to the Amalgamated Copper exploits, Mr. Rogers was quick to threaten. His lawyers notified the publishers of *Everybody's Magazine* that if they published any libelous statements they would be prosecuted; and with this notice before him Mr. Lawson published his story of unparalleled moral turpitude. But the millionaires of No. 26 Broadway dared not face him in court, even after threatening that if he said things he could not prove he would be prosecuted.

Why The Campaign Against Corruption Must be Prosecuted With Increasing Vigor.

Necessary as has been the work already achieved by the great magazines, it is even more vitally important that this labor should be pushed forward with increasing vigor despite the clamor of the guilty and their friends and beneficiaries; for now that the fact is revealed that the political bosses, the party-machines and the great corporations everywhere where there have been investigations are guilty of corruption, graft and criminal practices, the people themselves can no longer

be quit of responsibility. So long as the public was in ignorance of the criminality and corruption that flourished by reason of the partnership between corporate and privileged interests and the politicians, the people were not morally culpable; but now that it has been made plain, the whole nation will be

morally responsible and the ethical sentiments of the people will become blunted in an appalling degree if dishonesty, moral turpitude and corruption are not everywhere chased to their lairs and the unfaithful ones punished, be they rich or poor, to the fullest extent of the law.

THE AWAKENING OF THE LABOR GIANT AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE TO DEMOCRACY.

How Labor's Long Sleep Has Imperiled Free Government.

THE MAN who fails to intelligently exercise the right of franchise places himself at the same disadvantage as is the poor victim in class-ruled lands who is denied the right to vote, when the real masters choose to wield the lash of injustice or turn on the screws of oppression. The man or the men, the class or the coterie, who represent the real power that is responsible for men in office will find the law-makers, the law-interpreters and the law-enforcers responsive to their creators; not to those who are supposed to be their creators, but to the interests whose fiat actually can and does make or unmake. The recognition of this fact on the part of the great public-service corporations and other monopolies and trusts, or the "interests" that fatten off of special privileges and exploit labor, and the failure to recognize so vital a truth on the part of the industrial millions, constitute the true secret of the rapid advance of reactionary and class-interests in this republic, the undermining of the ideals of the Declaration of Independence or the fundamental democracy of Jefferson and of Lincoln, and the dominance of the criminal rich, the high financiers, the Wall-street gamblers and the political bosses in national life.

The steady and aggressive advance of corporate oppression paralleling the defeat of every effort to secure effective legislation in the interests of the people and the old-time legal enforcement against law-breakers who are also millionaires; the steady and sinister arrogation by the judiciary of a power that was never intended or comprehended by the founders of our government, notably the flagrant abuse of the injunction power and the attempted despotic extension to absurd and menacing lengths of the contempt of court as seen in the vicious theory of constructive

contempt; the steady lowering of moral idealism and the rise and prevalence of bribery, graft and corruption in the body politic,—these and similar ominous influences that are destructive to democracy and inimical to the happiness, development and well-being of all the people have marked the rise of the plutocracy during the past twenty-five years, and they have been rendered possible only because Labor—the great wealth-producing and consuming millions—has failed to unite to combat privilege and class advance that must in the long run mean the virtual subjugation of the toilers to the masters of the bread and the sinking of the wealth-creators to the position of the man without the vote in despotic lands.

For years Labor has cried with increasing bitterness against the shameful abuse of the injunction power and other unjust and oppressive acts which have registered the wishes or demands of the great corporation chiefs who furnished the fat campaign funds for the money-controlled political machines; yet all demands have been systematically ignored when not contemptuously spurned. And why? Simply because Labor has resolutely refused to seize and use as a unit the one sovereign remedy in a democracy which in a single day would have shorn its oppressive masters of their power in a manner as peaceful as effective—the ballot.

The multi-millionaires whose wealth has been chiefly the result of special privileges and monopoly rights that enabled them to levy unjust toll and tariffs upon the millions are as one to one hundred when it comes to a battle at the ballot-box. The corrupt beneficiaries of special privilege who oppress Labor and debauch government, through control of political machines, have exalted their tools to the seats of the mighty in all departments of governmental life only because they have been able systematically to defeat and

negative the influence of the producing and consuming millions. Yet year after year Labor has shrieked aloud at injustice and oppression, has struck when strikes meant almost starvation to tens of thousands of the toilers and the increase of millions upon millions of dollars of burden for the community at large, with the probability of failure for the laborers in the long run or at least only a minimum of justice; yet on election day these same toilers have done precisely what the corrupt beneficiaries of privilege and the political bosses desired and counted on their doing—supported the men acceptable to the plutocracy that furnished the bosses with funds for the money-controlled machine, with the result—the inevitable result—that every year the contempt of the office-holders for the laboring millions has become offensively apparent whenever a crisis has come between the interests of the plutocracy and those of Labor or the people at large.

Time and again has THE ARENA pointed out that there could be no real relief for the toilers or restoration of the government to the people until the laboring millions united at the polls and used the effective and peaceful remedy which democracy places in the hands of the citizen for his protection and for the widest interests of the people at large.

The Labor leaders have held otherwise. They have depended on strikes and on the promises of venal politicians who were as ready to make ante-election pledges as they were to break them when the boss or his masters commanded them to do so. This has long been to us the most discouraging aspect of the battle of the people for justice and the fundamental rights guaranteed by free government against the criminal rich and class-rule. True, the Socialists in recent years have resolutely fought at the polls against the reactionary, imperialistic, militaristic and unrepugnant order, but this has not been true of the great mass of organized Labor.

Inactivity Not Marked by Moral and Intellectual Inertia.

This almost fatal inactivity in the presence of the steady advance of the three things that are absolutely destructive to democracy—militarism, imperialism and class-rule—has happily not been marked by sordid corruption or moral obloquy on the part of organized Labor. On the contrary, a great and fundamentally important work has been pushed forward.

For years Mr. Gompers and his associates have cordially seconded the magnificent labor of Mr. George H. Shibley in his systematic campaign for the education of American workers along the lines of fundamental democracy and their instruction in regard to the simple and practical method of bringing the government back to the people and meeting changed conditions so as to effectively preserve a fundamentally free government, by means of the initiative, the referendum and the right of recall. There is nothing so needed in America to-day as Direct-Legislation, or guarded representative government, as Mr. Shibley prefers to call it. And thus through the active and sympathetic aid of Mr. Gompers and other Labor leaders, these practical measures for preserving a government of the people, by the people and for the people have been so luminously explained and persistently impressed on the intelligent workers that they have come to appreciate the vital importance of these fundamental democratic methods.

The waiting season, therefore, though in many respects very unfortunate for Labor and for the Republic, has not been lost or wasted, since it has been utilized for the most important education of which the people stand in need.

Some Foreign Influences That Have Contributed to Labor's Awakening.

There are several causes that have contributed to the tardy awakening of organized Labor:

(a) The spectacle presented during the great revolutionary outbreak in Russia has necessarily produced a profound impression on all the more thoughtful and philosophical workers in America. Here we have seen tens and hundreds of thousands of workers deliberately risking not only all their earthly possessions, but life and liberty to gain the right of constitutional government—the right to vote and thus be in a position to compel their interests to be considered by the law-makers. No man could contemplate that thrilling and inspiring spectacle of moral heroism in which, with prison and the bleak expanses of Siberia grimly staring them in the face, if happily they were not killed outright, tens of thousands of toilers risked all to obtain that priceless thing—a free man's ballot,—without being impressed with the sacred character of the vote or without recognizing that the daily record of Russian heroism in its struggle for the right of

franchise has made tens of thousands of American toilers, who have been accustomed to thoughtlessly vote for the machine-made candidates who have been viséed by the plutocratic classes and privileged interests, resolve to trifle no more with the priceless talisman of freedom, the one invincible, peaceable weapon that can, and if used will, give Labor the ample justice that it its due.

(b) The heroism of the Russian workers was seconded by the striking practical illustration of what Labor can easily do if it acts with union and wisdom, afforded by the great working-men's victory at the English election, when over fifty Labor candidates were elected to Parliament, thirty of whom came pledged to united action on all things relating to the interests of the workers. The English election bore to Labor the world over a message of inspiration and promise that could not fail to exert a powerful influence, especially when taken in connection with the growing strength and solidarity of the Labor element in the politics of Western Continental Europe.

(c) The striking and uninterrupted growth of Social Democracy, in spite of the cruel and repressive methods that have marked the government's treatment of the Social Democrats in Germany, and despite the grossly unjust system of representation that robs them of a large proportion of seats to which they are by right entitled, is one of the most astonishing facts of modern political history. The Social Democracy of Germany now numbers more than one-third of all the voters of the realm, the party casting more than three million votes. The recent empire-wide demand of the Social Democrats of Austria for universal suffrage, the solidarity exhibited, and the awe-inspiring spectacle seen in Vienna when the vast procession of workers, which required over six hours to pass any given point, silently marched past the palace to the Parliament House bearing the flags of Social Democracy along with the national emblem and numerous banners imperatively emphasizing their demands, not only convinced the Emperor and the Parliament of the necessity for heeding the voice of the people, but it profoundly influenced the imagination of all Europe and in no small degree stimulated Social Democracy to renewed efforts in France, Sweden, Italy and elsewhere.

Legislative Insolence When Labor Supplanted for a Few Meager Concessions.

Mr. Gompers and other Labor leaders doubtless believed that in view of the Labor victory in England and the steady growth of the Socialist party in America, the politicians would take alarm and concede to organized Labor certain fundamentally just and very reasonable demands. They little understood the measureless contempt which the officials elected by the corporation-governed political machines entertain for Labor. The organized laborer had proved so perfectly tractable in the past that they had come to regard him much as the man without a vote. He had steadily refused to unite and vote as a unit for the interests of organized Labor exactly as the capitalists had long united and worked as a unit for the advancement of their faithful tools. So long as Labor merely threatened and fulminated it was diverting and amusing to the servants of the plutocracy who but for Labor's vote would not be in places of power. So long as the laboring man could be deceived by honeyed words and perfidious pledges before election, he was an object of flattery up to the hour when he cast his vote for the machine nominees, after which he was an object of contempt and amusement.

The law-makers knew their masters, the corporations and privileged interests, acted as a unit; that they never forgot or forgave treachery. They were liberal with campaign funds and courtesies, and they were obeyed. Hence when Mr. Gompers and his friends appeared before Congress as humble suppliants, they were given to understand that they were not feared by the law-makers and so need expect few favors and scant justice whenever and wherever their demands conflicted with the selfish demands of the real masters of government—the privileged interests.

Here plutocracy and its minions, drunken with arrogance, presumed too far. They felt safe behind their millions and under the protection of the party-machine. But Labor had done some serious thinking. It had been forced to see that the man who has a ballot and uses it so that it helps his enemy, or fails to use it for his own good and the good of his comrades, is no better off than the voiceless serf in an autocratic despotism; and Labor was at last ready to resent the insult of the machine-politicians and their masters.

The American Federation Declares for Political Action.

The contemptuous treatment of Labor's demands by Congress was complemented in some instances with the time-worn and threadbare good words and general platitudes which plutocracy encourages her tools to be lavish of in the place of any redress of wrongs against which the workers protest. But the day was happily past for such despicable subterfuges to be effective. The eyes of the sleeper had been opened, and the Federation officials, representing the assembled presidents of the affiliated international unions, unanimously issued a bill of grievances, and accompanying it went a ringing note in which the organized workers, represented by the officials of the American Federation of Labor said:

"Let the inspiring watchword go forth that:

"We will stand by our friends and administer a stinging rebuke to men or parties who are either indifferent, negligent or hostile, and wherever opportunity affords, to secure the election of intelligent, honest, earnest trades-unionists, with clear, unblemished, paid-up union cards in their possession."

This bugle-call further contained these explicit statements as outlining the proposed action of union workers in the future:

"That as our efforts are centered against all forms of industrial slavery and economic wrong, we must also direct our utmost energies to remove all forms of political servitude and party slavery, to the end that the working-people may act as a unit at the polls of every election.

"That the American Federation of Labor most firmly and unequivocally favors the independent use of the ballot by the trades-unionists and workingmen, united regardless of party, that we may elect men from our own ranks to make new laws and administer them along the lines laid down in the legislative demands of the American Federation of Labor, and at the same time secure an impartial judiciary that will not govern us by arbitrary injunction of the courts, nor act as the pliant tools of corporate wealth."

This stand taken by the American Federation and representing as it does a great organization pledged to Direct-Legislation, is in our judgment one of the most momentous events of recent years in American political life and

one that is pregnant with great promise for fundamental democracy.

The Chicago Progressive Alliance.

On the 8th of April, in answer to a call for a convention of the workers of Chicago to formulate plans for exerting an influence commensurate with their strength at the primaries of that city, three hundred delegates assembled, representing 52 labor unions and 8 civic associations. The organization adopted the name of the Chicago Progressive Alliance. It is doubtful, we think, whether any similar convention ever represented so much earnest, rational common-sense and enlightened statesmanship as were displayed by this notable body whose platform and programme will, we believe, become a general working model for similar organizations elsewhere now that Labor has awakened and entered the arena to gain rightful protection, to further the interests of free government and to stay the advancement of militarism and government by unjust and reactionary class-rule for the advancement of privileged wealth.

Among the chief and most important demands in the platform adopted that are of special interest are the following: (1) direct primaries; (2) the initiative and referendum; (3) the right of recall; (4) public-ownership and operation of public utilities; (5) local option in taxation; (6) trial by jury in injunction cases; (7) a city charter giving the city full control of its local affairs.

The demand in regard to relief for the people from one of the newest and most sinister forms of judicial despotism, through shameless abuse of the injunction power, will appeal to the intelligence, wisdom and sense of justice of hundreds of thousands of our people. So great is the growing demand for the curtailing of the arbitrary and un-American usurpations of the courts that this question is bound to become one of the burning issues in the near future. The following is the resolution adopted by the Alliance:

"Feeling that the abuse of the writ of injunction by certain corporation stalking-horses, who have by various devices obtained place on the bench in Federal and State courts, requires a limitation to be placed upon it, we favor such legislation as will require a trial by jury of alleged acts of contempt of court committed out of the presence of the court."

Labor Proposes to Battle for Direct-Legislation in Colorado.

On April 2d the Denver Arena Club held its eighth regular meeting, at which Chapter One of the "Direct-Legislation Primer" was the subject of consideration and discussion. At this meeting Mr. Otto Thum, the well-known Labor leader of Colorado, said:

"I learned yesterday that the Executive Board and officers of the Colorado State Federation of Labor, comprising a number of federations of the state, will make Direct-Legislation, as Mr. Flower defines it, the principal campaign issue this year. Instead of demanding the registration of barbers and plumbers, they are going to make a united effort to get an amendment to the constitution for the referendum and the Right of Recall, so that the legislatures will pass a law when desired by the people. Also the Typographical Union met yesterday and endorsed that principle. So that in Colorado, at any rate, there is one organization, composed of many other organizations, behind that general principle."

This will be good news to all friends of free government in America. Guarded representative government, or Direct-Legislation, and the Right of Recall are in our judgment by far the most urgent and important immediate political measures before our people. They are measures that should call to active personal support all the high-minded and nobly idealistic young men and women in our great nation. They should lead to individual consecrated service such as the cause of freedom and justice has ever called forth from such noble minds as those of Franklin, Adams, Otis, Jefferson, Henry, Randolph and their compatriots in the stirring days that preceded the issuance of the Declaration of Independence.

The Republic has never called more urgently to her true-hearted children than she calls to-day when confronted by militant imperialism and the soul-paralyzing sordid genius of materialistic commercialism that has ascended the throne of liberty in that government that long found its highest inspiration in the immortal and fundamental truths of the Declaration of Independence.

THE BATTLE AGAINST POLITICAL AND COMMERCIAL CORRUPTION IN THE UNITED STATES.

The Prevalence of Corrupt Practices Arising From The Union of Corporations and The Dominant Parties in City, State and Nation.

ALL STUDENTS of history know that any political party long in complete power becomes corrupt; but it is doubtful if in the history of the Republic the various departments of government, national, state and municipal, have ever been as thoroughly permeated with graft, dishonesty and corruption as to-day. Nor is it difficult to find the reason. For more than a quarter of a century the great public-service corporations, trusts and other privileged interests that have fattened off of monopoly rights and class-laws, and the great high financiers and Wall-street gamblers, have been actively engaged in politics for personal gain. Since 1896 these interests have for the most part made open alliance with the dominant party, and it must be admitted they have fared well in return. The enormous campaign funds contributed

by the great monopolies, trusts and public-service corporations and high financiers to the McKinley and Roosevelt campaigns registered the high-water mark in lavish expenditures; yet they were frequently, relatively speaking, almost paralleled in state and city elections.

Under the fostering care of Platt and Odell in New York, a riot of corruption prevailed of the character and extent of which the insurance investigation gave some hint. Yet there is little reason to suppose that the insurance companies were one whit less effective in their corrupt influence over the legislature and the special state department with which they were concerned than have been the great public-service companies, the financial and other privileged interests that may have found it to their interest to control legislation and state departments in the interest of the few at the expense of public morality and the people in general.

The general consternation that prevailed

in certain quarters in Washington, Albany and Wall street when it recently seemed that public clamor for the investigation of the scandals connected with the state department for inspection of banks would be so great that Governor Higgins would be compelled to permit the legislature to investigate, spoke all too eloquently of the guilty knowledge on the part of certain parties and their natural dread of an investigation. It is stated that word came from Washington that a public investigation at the present time would be a public calamity and that it must not be permitted; and Governor Higgins and the so-called leaders finally saw to it that there was no investigation.

Now if the department had a clean record it would have welcomed the investigation, and if the leaders had not known that examination would lead to another chapter in the story of present-day graft and corruption they would not have defied public clamor. On the contrary they would have welcomed an investigation that would in its vindication have offset in a measure the amazing revelations of party corruption that had been uncovered in the insurance exposures.

The recent revelations of the shameful acts of the State Tax Commissioners in regard to appraising the proper taxation for the public-service corporations of Buffalo, as exposed by Mayor Adam and referred to in our paper on the Mayor of Buffalo in this issue, indicate how complacent the Tax Commission is to the wealthy public-service corporations; and what is true of New York has been evidenced in many other states.

In Pennsylvania prior to the exposure of conditions by Mr. Blankenburg in his notable series of ARENA articles which did so much to crystallize public sentiment and work a volcanic upheaval, the Pennsylvania Railroad and other public-service corporations and privileged interests rendered the power of Quay and later of Penrose in the state, and of Durham in Philadelphia, practically invincible, even in the face of the most brazen exhibitions of corrupt practices known to American politics.

In Colorado, where the great railways, the coal and iron corporations, the Mine-Owners' Association, the Smelter-Trust and the public-service corporations or the Utility-Trust have made common cause and have united with the dominant party for absolute mastership of the state, even more arbitrary, subversive

and infamous acts have been perpetrated in recent years than have probably disgraced any other American commonwealth. In the city of Denver the corrupt practices of the public-service corporations have almost paralleled those of Philadelphia,—a fact which has recently been strikingly brought out by Judge Lindsey of Denver in the following startling and direct utterance:

"The politics of Denver is controlled absolutely by the four utility corporations. If any man denies this, he is either misinformed, ignorant, or deliberately falsifies. All the election frauds, all the ballot-box stuffing—I say without hesitation—came from the debauchery and the prostitution of political position and power by money furnished by the utility corporations of Denver. The men who are responsible for these crimes are men like Mr. Evans of the tramway company, Mr. Field of the telephone company, Mr. Cheesman of the water company. These corporations have the city of Denver by the throat."

In Missouri the corruption was carried on by means of corporate wealth and privileged interests acting with the Democratic party, as that party was strongly entrenched. But this fact further proves the truth of our contention that any party long dominant tends to become corrupt, and when it can be made the tool of privileged interests and corrupt corporations the moral degradation is startlingly rapid.

The latest confirmation of the claim of those who have studied present-day politics since corporate interests operating through the boss and the money-controlled machine have become the real rulers in government is found in the revelations already brought to light by the Ohio Senatorial Investigating Committee appointed to examine into political conditions in Cincinnati and in Hamilton county. Here we find the same story that is ever present when corporations or privileged interests unite with unscrupulous bosses for mutual enrichment and dominance at the expense of the people and at a frightful cost to civic morality.

The Uncovering of The Corrupt Rule of Boss Cox.

George B. Cox was in many ways a typical boss, and like Quay and Durham, Tweed and Butler, his influence was destructive to pure government and subversive of the rights and

interests of the people. He began business as a saloon-keeper. He became the great dominant power of the Republican party of southwestern Ohio by methods familiar to other corrupt and unscrupulous bosses. He steadily gained wealth as his political influence extended. He built up a machine as strong and apparently as invincible as that of Boss Durham of Philadelphia, until he at length became the feudal lord, not only of the Republican party but of the political life of Hamilton county. By the aid of the public-service corporations and other privileged interests that he faithfully served in their efforts to rob and exploit the people, he was able to command sufficient money and influence to keep out of office any persons who were antagonistic to him. In his party he elevated his tools and in turn expected them to obey his orders.

Nothing is more marked in American political life than the rapid moral decline of civic sentiment in the presence of an unscrupulous boss backed by the great plunderers and spoilers of the people who pose as safe and sane pillars of society and of civic life. The people, who at heart are honest and sound, become cowed and then grow apathetic and indifferent when they see corruption entrenched and bulwarked by the great men of the community.

So Boss Cox the saloon-keeper became not only the Republican over-lord of southwestern Ohio, but the head of the Cincinnati Trust Company and an aspirant to be State boss and United States Senator. Had not Quay and Hanna and Platt risen from local bosses to leaders and from state leadership to the United States Senate, through machine methods? So the former saloon-keeping ward politician planned through the aid of the public-service corporations and privileged interests to gain a place in the highest law-making body of the land, where he would find numerous congenial spirits.

Among the men Cox chose to honor politically was Nicholas Longworth. He was rich; he had inherited money and he had more in prospect. He coveted a seat in Congress and by grace of Boss Cox he was elevated to it. After a Republican victory in Ohio in which Cox's notorious methods had become such a scandal that self-respecting citizens of both parties denounced him roundly, Mr. Longworth made the one speech on the floor of the House by which he is remembered. It was an eulogy of the corrupt boss. The staunch

Republican daily, the *Boston Evening Transcript*, in referring recently to the result of the legislative investigation now in progress, which is considering Cox and his iniquitous course, said:

"Even Nicholas Longworth, the scion of one of Cincinnati's noblest families, a Harvard graduate, unblushingly declared on the floor of the House that, in effect, he wore the Cox collar, and owed his being in Congress to the 'Big Boss.'"

At that time it seemed that Cox's star was in the ascendent. Graft and grafting were to be the order of the day, and Ohio bade fair to become a second Pennsylvania as a hot-bed for corrupt politics. The *Boston Transcript's* special correspondent, in the article to which we have alluded, thus described the Boss's power and how it was wielded so as to destroy free government, debauch public service and enthrone corruption:

"'There was nothin' stirrin' in the city or country government except through Cox's orders or sufferance. From his little front office over the Mecca saloon, he alone governed the city of Cincinnati and the county of Hamilton. If you wanted to get a street-light near your place, a job in Congress or 'with the city,' the privilege of running a gambling joint in violation of the law or wished to 'jam through' a franchise, you had to see and 'make arrangements with' Cox. If you failed to secure the favor of an audience with the czar, you might 'fix it up' through one of the high chamberlains at his court of graft—Hynicka, Herman or one or two others. A man of 'strong character,' of great will-power and capacity for leadership, a 'good boss' who 'stood in,' as every 'boss' must, with the 'big business-men,' and who by means of bold issues, inefficient service and a raised valuation kept down the rate of taxation—a man who 'toted fair' with his friends, whose 'no' meant 'no,' whose 'yes' meant 'yes' without qualification and to the limit of his great powers as long as you were faithful in your fealty—one who had long since given up his 'knock-out' saloon and had attained to the dignity of a million dollars and of the presidency of a successful trust company and bank—such was the George B. Cox who, two years ago, was supreme."

But during this time the Rev. Herbert E. Bigelow and a band of as high-minded patriots

as ever enlisted in a noble cause were engaged in the thankless task of educating the public conscience while receiving the sneers, calumny and opprobrious epithets of the corruptionists of both parties for their pains. Among those who warred against Cox and his morally criminal methods were J. N. Gamble of the firm of Proctor and Gamble, who was a staunch Republican, and E. H. Pendleton and Charles Wilby, both prominent Democrats. They did much to organize the moral sentiment of the community and prepare the way for the overthrow of the corrupt boss. That overthrow came last autumn when the nation was amazed to find that Cox's army of office-holding grafters, backed by his powerful money-laden machine, had gone down before the aroused moral sentiment of the electorate. In the great overturn the Democrats elected the Governor and almost won the House and Senate, the latter body being a tie, with an Independent casting the deciding vote.

A general cry went up for an investigation of the corrupt politics of Cincinnati and Hamilton county, but the united strength of the Republican party, with the aid, it is said, of both the United States Senators, strenuously fought every attempt to secure an honest and fearless investigation, just as the Root-Ryan-Higgins machine of New York recently opposed the investigation of the banking department of the Empire State. However, the Ohio Senate finally succeeded in getting a committee appointed consisting of three able Democrats and two Republicans. The Republicans refused to serve, but the Democrats, Messrs. John C. Drake, Thomas B. Schmidt and Arthur Espy, entered upon as vigorous an investigation as was possible during the session of the legislature and with only \$12,000 appropriated for the work which the Republicans fondly hoped could bediscredited before it uncovered the rottenness that permeated the Cox rule.

The Ohio Senatorial Committee Makes Astounding Revelations of Wholesale Corruption.

Certain Republican partisan politicians are very much exercised over the uncovering of late of so much corruption, which they choose to designate as "muck," by fearless and incorruptible investigators. They do not seem to be much exercised over the presence of the poison-disseminating moral contagion of the muck as they are about its being un-

covered so that the people shall recognize the poison and vigorously apply the remedy; and this sensitiveness and dread of investigations has been very acute since the people administered such a crushing defeat to the corrupt bosses and discredited party-chiefs last autumn.

The Ohio Senatorial Investigating Committee, however, went on the theory that there could be no such thing as clean politics or honest and free government so long as the muck of moral contagion, wholesale dishonesty, graft and debauched public sentiment flourished unexposed. Its members therefore got out the muck-rake, and the first thing they unearthed was wholesale graft in the treasurer's office. The treasurers were in the habit under the Cox régime of receiving what they were pleased to term "gratuities" from banks for the deposit of checks made for taxes. The discovery of this phase of graft on the first days of the investigation created consternation among the evil-doers, and as a result of this exposure already restitution of \$211,076.29 has been made by three treasurers, and the committee confidently expects to compel from \$400,000 to \$600,000 restitution before it finishes its labors.

Although up to the present writing the committee has only been able to devote two days a week to the investigation, it has uncovered graft and corrupt practices on every hand, and there is every prospect that before the summer is over facts will be brought to light that will rival the insurance revelations.

One amazing exhibition of corrupt practices by which the taxpayers have been shamefully robbed was brought out in connection with the sale of turnpikes to the county. Here a certain Charles F. Dolle, representing himself as an attorney for the County Commissioners, made it his business to give the owners of the turnpikes an option on the roads at a sum very insignificant when compared with the amount he got the County Commissioners to pay. Thus on one pike it was shown that Dolle's rake-off was \$5,000. Dolle, however, intimated that there were others in the rake-off besides himself, which, however, did not lighten the added burdens of the taxpayers occasioned by this brazen taking of \$5,000 of their money. In one case a company would have been glad to give the county the pike on condition that it would keep the road up. Dolle, however, amazed the company by offering \$1,250 a mile. He then induced the

Commissioners to pay \$3,000 a mile, thus receiving \$1,750 in excess of what the company received. In another case Dolle secured an option of \$750 a mile; he sold the road to the County Commissioners at \$2,400 a mile. On one road the county paid \$31,010; Dolle's rake-off was \$12,862.50.

These cases are typical of numbers of similar transactions brought out in the investigation. They show that under the absolute rule of a corrupt boss backed by powerful privileged interests, the taxpayers are systematically robbed for the office-holding hierarchy and its tools.

"What kind of County Commissioners did the county have?" someone will probably ask. The kind of commissioners we should naturally expect when a boss like Cox was the absolute arbiter of the political destiny of the county. A side-light was thrown on this phase of the question by the answer of one of the commissioners to the question, "How did you get your nomination for commissioner?" "Went to Cox and asked for it," was the laconic reply.

Space forbids our citing other kinds of graft that have already been brought out at this investigation. Sufficient to say that the committee, though only at the commencement of its work, has succeeded in uncovering vast deposits of muck wherever it has put down its rake,—so much so that it is believed that no man in Ohio to-day is so down on the incorruptible senators with the muck-rake as is Boss Cox. He doubtless regards the investigation as a "public calamity," but honest citizens everywhere feel very differently about it.

Tampering With The Courts.

The most sinister and astounding part of the revelations of the Ohio Senatorial Committee that has thus far been brought to light has been the revelations of the way in which Cox expected his judges to register his wishes regardless of law, justice or equity. If it was to his interest to have a decision reversed, he expected the judges to reverse it. Senator Lodge and other Senators whose votes in Congress and whose influence elsewhere are almost always cast in favor of corporate wealth in the battle between the people and corporate and privileged interests, think it a grave offence to criticize the courts. The question of whether the courts deserve criticism does not seem to distress them nearly as much as the desire

to see the judges lifted out of the reach of that criticism which is the vital breath of free government. Their sentiments are doubtless a reflection of the dearest wishes of the master-spirits in the world of high finance and corrupt corporate wealth. Doubtless Boss Cox to-day shares Senator Lodge's sentiments about the wrongfulness of exposing the doings of the boss-made judges or corporation lawyers elevated through corporation influence to the bench. So vitally important are the revelations that have been made by the Ohio Senatorial Committee concerning the tampering with the courts that we quote at length from the Boston *Transcript's* special correspondent's account of this part of the committee's investigation. We do this because the *Transcript* is the most conservative Republican daily of Boston and prides itself on being free from even the suspicion of sensationalism:

"But by far the most serious disclosure made so far has related to Cox's tampering with the courts. This was revealed in connection with a preliminary survey of the affairs of the new waterworks board. The construction of this new supply system has dragged along for years and is still far from completion. Originally the cost was estimated at \$6,500,000. The latest estimate is \$11,000,000. The board of five trustees having this in hand is headed by Garry Herman, who for years has looked after Cox's interests in the city as Hynicka has been his trusted lieutenant in the county. Lincoln Steffens and others have agreed that Cox divided the "big grafts" with these two only. The rest of the waterworks trustees were either pliant tools or elderly or crippled incompetents.

In 1903 the city, acting under pressure from some taxpayers, secured a judgment of \$238,712 against the Lane & Bodley Company for failure on the part of that corporation to build and put in operation, according to contract, certain machinery for the waterworks. The case was appealed, but before its rehearing, the matter was compromised by the company paying to the city only about \$65,000.

Judge Ferdinand Jelke, Jr., who for five years has been on the Circuit Court bench and prior to that four years on the Common Pleas bench, testified before the Drake Committee that during the pendency of the above suit he was summoned by Cox to appear

before him. Jelke left his court and came to the office of the 'Boss.' Jelke swore Cox addressed him as follows: 'Judge, there is a case coming up in your court' (mentioning it—the Lane & Bodley matter), and added, 'I wish you would find some way to reverse it.' Jelke boldly replied: 'Mr. Cox, that case will be tried on the record like any other case.' Judge Jelke added: 'Little was said after that; Cox said he had already conferred with another of the judges of the Circuit Court, an associate of mine.' The witness added that while it may have been imagination on his (Jelke's) part, he thought Cox was not pleased with the conference and that, from hearsay, Jelke believed afterward he was not in the same favor with Cox as he had been before. When the case came up, the other judge—Swing—whom Cox declared to Jelke had received his orders from his 'boss'—voted for a reversal as instructed. Jelke voted to affirm the judgment of the lower court. There the matter stood when it was settled out of court.

"Judge William S. Giffin, also of the Circuit Court, admitted he also had been summoned to appear before Cox. Giffin swore Cox said, 'if Giffin could see his way clear he (Cox) would like to see the decision (which had been in favor of the city) reversed. Cox said a large sum of money was involved, and while there was no apparent disposition to harass them, the commissioners were compelled to bring suit, but that it might be compromised for much less than the verdict set forth.' Giffin swore he replied that in a hearing requiring as much as thirty days, 'technical errors might arise which would warrant the judgment being reversed.'

"Judge Peter F. Swing, another one of Jelke's associates, admitted, apparently with reluctance and after preliminary evasions and professions of forgetfulness, that he 'had had some conversation with the leader of the Republican organization' on this subject, but that 'the details of this conference had passed from his mind.' However he admitted voting for a reversal of the decision although he protested, at the time 'he had no idea Cox had any interests in the Lane & Bodley Company.'"

A Judge Comes to The Rescue of The Rascals.

Since writing the above and while all lovers of honesty and clean government in Ohio

and elsewhere were rejoicing at the prospect of at least the partial punishment of the scoundrels who had been parading under the mask of respectability while systematically engaged in criminal practices, the work of purification was rudely brought to a halt by a member of the judiciary, Judge Samuel W. Smith of Hamilton county. The story of this judge's action, by which the rascals are shielded, is thus concisely set forth in an editorial which appeared in the *Boston Herald* of April 26th:

"Among the persons summoned to give evidence before the Drake commission was one Davis, cashier of the First National Bank of Cincinnati, presumably one of the institutions with which these law-violating treasurers had dealt. By direction of the superior officers of the bank Davis refused to obey the summons, and was arrested by order of the committee. Then a writ of *habeas corpus* was applied for and granted, and the case was heard before Judge Samuel W. Smith of the Hamilton county Common Pleas Court. He held the matter under advisement for several weeks. Many thought that he would release Davis on some technical ground. It was believed, for sundry reasons that need not be specified here, that he would do it if he could find a way; but no one was prepared for what actually happened. When the decision was rendered on April 17th he took the broad ground that the Drake investigating committee was an illegal body, that the constitution of Ohio gave the legislature no authority to appoint a commission with power to take testimony as to alleged corruption in Hamilton county and compel the attendance of witnesses. Under his decision the whole action of this committee, which already had unearthed so much corruption and as yet had only scratched the surface of Cincinnati official misconduct, was illegal and void.

"It may be imagined what a paralyzing blow this is to the continuance of the inquiry into the wickedness that has been rife under the rule of Boss Cox.

"The only recourse is to the higher courts, and already steps are taken to carry the case to the Supreme Court of Ohio. If that court sustains Judge Smith, the matter will be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States, for it is felt that the most valuable rights of the citizens in the way of preserving the in-

tegrity of government are at stake. This process, if it has to be carried to the ultimate tribunal, may take two years."

This delay is precisely what Cox and the horde of criminals that he gathered around him, in and out of office, the character of which has already been shown in the criminality brought to light and by means of which republican government was utterly destroyed in southwestern Ohio through the domination of corrupt corporations and criminal machine-rule, have naturally been praying for. It will give time for the demoralized thieves and grafters to build up their ranks, to destroy books, to forget what is desired to be forgotten, to have certain books or important papers conveniently mislaid and lost; and if the courts reverse the decision, as will be the case, we think, unquestionably, if the decision is ever brought before the United States Supreme Court, the present popular indignation will have subsided and the criminals will be in every way in a better position to defeat justice, which, judging from the methods of the plutocracy and the criminal machines, they will attempt in every way possible to do, even if they have to send some of their tools abroad.

The action of Judge Smith, like the action of Judge Humphrey whose decision the President so mercilessly held up to the scorn of right-minded people, shows the reason why all of the henchmen of plutocracy, all of the champions and upholders of corrupt machines and grafting corporations, are so desirous that the judiciary for which they are responsible shall be held immune from criticism.

Senator La Follette Alarms Plutocracy's Minions in The Senate.

NO ABLER or more statesmanlike address has been delivered in the United States Senate in years than the exhaustive review of the railroad situation made by Senator La Follette when discussing the Railroad Rate Bill.

In this great contest of the people against the law-defying and oppressive railroads, the junior senator from Wisconsin held a brief for the people, just as the senior senator, Spooner, Aldrich, Knox and Foraker represented the side of the public carriers in opposition to the people's prayer for relief.

At the commencement of his address the tools of privileged interests who occupy seats in the Senate sought to snub and treat the

young senator with marked disrespect by leaving the Senate chamber almost as soon as Senator La Follette began to speak.

"You may go out," exclaimed the orator as the railroad senators vacated their seats. "I am," he continued, "addressing the country, and the people will hear me. And these seats that you vacate voluntarily now may be permanently vacated by you before the people are through with you."

At this the crowded galleries broke into tumultuous applause, ominously voicing the real sentiment of America's millions. Senator Kean of New Jersey, one of the most vigilant watch-dogs of the public-service corporations' interests in all cases where the people seek relief from injustice, sprang to his feet and demanded that the galleries be immediately cleared. The presiding officer, however, paid no attention to Mr. Kean's request, and Senator La Follette proceeded, soon making it very plain that he regarded it the duty of senators and representatives to represent the interests of the people instead of striving to thwart their interests. He did not think the people's servants should strive to give the people as little of what was justly theirs as possible, but rather that they should guarantee to them all that in justice was their due. This was new doctrine in the Senate and evidently a very unpalatable theory to the agents of privileged interests who systematically misrepresent and betray the people in the interests of corporation rapacity.

Mr. La Follette showed that the authors of the House Rate Bill had framed a measure that offered little relief. As a matter of fact they hardly touched the railroad evil. They had approached the subject in a half-hearted and apologetic manner, as if the thought of offending the railways created something akin to terror in their minds. They had not thought of how much they could do for the people in restricting railway injustice and rapacity, but rather of how little they could do for the masses in order to lessen the nationwide clamor against the criminal aggressions of the public carriers.

It soon became evident that no man in the Senate was better equipped with facts in relation to the railway situation or possessed a more statesmanlike grasp of the subject than this new champion of the people in the Senate, and the alarm of the agents of plutocracy was very apparent.

Angus McSweeney, the very able Washington

correspondent of the Philadelphia *North American*, thus graphically describes the effect of the Senator's words on the corporation mouthpieces of the Upper House:

"Upon the faces of Aldrich and the leaders of railroad combination in the Senate there appeared, as they watched La Follette and so far as their faces are capable of displaying their inward emotion, an expression almost of fear.

"Against the absolute courage and sincerity of such a man, they can do nothing but oppose the brute strength of their number and the fancied security of their position. They tried this in their studied purpose to ignore La Follette, and failed because in spite of themselves the breadth of his knowledge, the force of his utterances, the strength and accuracy of his conclusions, all awakened their interest, not because they cared for what La Follette may think or say, but because they know his speech will go to the country and the country will care."

This correspondent in the course of an extended account of the address observed that:

"In addition to pointing out the defects in the present law, the Wisconsin champion called attention to the manner in which Congress had ignored the appeals of the country from the time nine years ago when the courts decided that the Interstate Commerce law did not give the commission the rights to fix rates, until the present time, and he pointed out the millions that would have been saved to shippers and consumers had Congress performed its obvious duty and remedied then the defects in the original act.

"His presentation of statistics showing railroad progress as well as railroad exactions, his comparison of conditions here and abroad, and his general argument and proof of the necessity existing for drastic legislation, if commercial and industrial independence and political liberty are to be preserved to the United States, was the most comprehensive and the most convincing that has been heard in the debate."

Mr. Julian Hawthorne, writing from Washington to the New York *American*, paid this high yet just compliment to Senator La Follette, after listening to his address and with the record of the Senator's past public career clearly before his mind:

"If all the other Senators were his equal

in brains, the Senate would be not only the best deliberative body we have ever had, but the best ever had by any nation, at any time; and, secondly, if all senators were as honest as he, and as faithful to the interests of the people, we would have the political millennium without more ado."

There is one fact that cannot be too strongly emphasized on the popular mind, and that is that the present battle is not a conflict between two parties so much as a life and death struggle between privileged interests and the people; between free government and equal rights for all on the one hand, and class government, in which a plutocracy by means of party machines and corrupt politicians is acquiring fabulous wealth and constantly increasing power at the expense of the millions of producers and consumers, on the other. In this battle Senator La Follette is as strongly committed to the cause of the people as are Aldrich, Kean, Elkins, Knox and Gorman committed to the interests of the public carriers.

The nation never stood in greater need than to-day of statesmen of the courage and loyalty to the people that marked Thomas Jefferson and Abraham Lincoln in the other great crises of our history; and in Senator La Follette we have another of the old-time lofty statesmen who is loved by the people for the battle he has waged and the enemies he has made.

Revelations of Corruption in Buffalo.

THE POLITICIANS who deny the prevalence of corruption and graft and then, when fresh revelations confront them, strive to belittle the importance of the evils brought to light and seek to dismiss them by the claim that they are merely sporadic and exceptional rather than general, are constantly placed in embarrassing positions from the fact that no sooner do they succeed in shunting investigations and preventing the lid from being raised in one section than corruption breaks out elsewhere. And the vigorous attempt of politicians who are eager for the influence of the plutocracy for future political advancement, to serve the interests of the criminal rich, the political bosses and the grafters by seeking to discredit those whose only crime is that of compelling the courts, the legislatures and the communities to take cognizance

of corruption that is rife in city, state and nation, is meeting with poor success. for the reason that the people know that every charge of corruption that has heretofore been made, when it has been followed by an investigation other than a whitewashing committee's report, has been more than verified. Thus all the power of the plutocratic organs, the attorneys for the high financiers and the political bosses, and the desperate efforts of politicians, from Secretary Taft down, to discredit the incorruptible patriots who are unmasking evil conditions are proving futile largely because of the continued breaking out of evidences of corruption which all the influence of the politicians and the great corporations is powerless to prevent.

One of the most recent examples of the prevalence of corruption and graft in public life has been brought to light in Buffalo, New York. While the Root-Ryan-Higgins machine and the high financiers of the Empire State were working so desperately to head off any investigation of the banking department of New York, thereby confessing by their defiance of the public demand for an investigation that they dared not turn a second Armstrong committee loose, some facts in Buffalo were brought to light that led to an investigation and to the indictment of Frederick Greiner, postmaster of Buffalo during the past four years, and Frederick O. Murray, recently appointed by President Roosevelt as Collector of the Port, together with three former supervisors of the county. An ex-auditor and some other supervisors were indicted previously, together with R. J. Conover, a contractor. The facts connected with this late scandal are briefly as follows:

A successful effort was made to induce Erie county to buy the abandoned North Street cemetery of Buffalo as a site for a new armory. Greiner was attorney for the cemetery company and it is charged that he obtained a large fee for the sale of the property to the county at what is deemed an excessive price. He is charged with bribing supervisors. Murray is held on seven indictments for grand larceny. He was county treasurer and is implicated with Conover in the fraudulent transactions. Conover obtained the contract for removing the bodies and was to receive \$15 for each body removed. By calling each bone or handful of bones a body it is claimed he received more than \$100,000 which he is said to have shared with the county officers, who

thus assisted him in robbing the county. Several of the accused are prominent lights in the Grand Old Party, which is leading some irreverent ones to term it the Grafting Old Party.

The President's Castigation of Judge Humphrey.

SELDOM has a judge of a United States court received so severe a castigation as that administered to Judge Humphrey by President Roosevelt in his message to Congress on April 18th. In commenting on the trial wherein Judge Humphrey's decision gave the rich criminals immunity the President says: "The result has been a miscarriage of justice." And again: "This interpretation by Judge Humphrey of the will of Congress as expressed in legislation is such as to make that will absolutely abortive." And again he says: "I can hardly believe that the ruling of Judge Humphrey will be followed by other judges," and in closing his message Mr. Roosevelt administers a stinging blow to the judge whose ruling had saved the criminals from receiving their due, by the use of these words: "Such interpretation of the law comes measurably near making the law a farce."

True, Mr. President, and Judge Humphrey's decision is only one of many decisions that more than perhaps all things else put together has lowered the popular respect for the judiciary since corporation attorneys have been so generally rewarded for long service in the interests of the public-service corporations and trusts with seats on the judicial bench. Doubtless Judge Humphrey regards the President as something of a muck-raker and we can well imagine the horror with which Senator Lodge and many of the staunch legal upholders of reactionary ideals and plutocratic aggression will regard the President's frank strictures. But the rank and file of the people will heartily approve of Mr. Roosevelt's savage censure of a decision that serves to save rich criminals from justice and thus defeats the ends of justice.

The Overturn in Milwaukee: Another Evidence of The Rising Tide Against Corrupt Municipal Rule and Corporate Domination.

MAYOR ROSE, the machine-politician who has proved so acceptable to the public-service corporations and the grafting element in gen-

eral, was a few months ago considered invincibly entrenched in the municipal government of Milwaukee. For years he had succeeded in getting himself elected mayor of the city. The machine was as perfectly organized as professional politicians and great public-service corporations were able to make it. He had everything on his side—but the people; and the political boss, backed by great corporations and the perfectly organized money-controlled machine long decided that the day had passed when the people had to be considered, other than by cheap flattery and fulsome promises which were made only to be broken.

However, some time ago several Socialists were elected to the city council and they began a battle against the big thieves and official corrupters in general. Soon the sneers and gibes of the criminal rich and the corrupt politicians gave place to ill-concealed anger and fear. The Socialists, by unmasking the perfidy and corruption of the present order, had compelled the people to wake up. True, there was in that community, as in others, the popular prejudice against Socialists, largely born of ignorance and the deliberate misrepresentations of the upholders of class-government and privileged interests; but the people saw that the Socialists were as a party practically alone in their efforts to secure honest government and to conserve the true interests of all the people. Hence their vote grew with great rapidity. It soon became evident that the new party had attracted thousands of honest and progressive citizens who though not endorsing the full Socialistic programme found in that party the only municipal organization not subservient to corporate wealth or permeated with graft. The last Milwaukee municipal council contained ten Socialist members, and shrewd observers became convinced that if the old parties nominated machine-men of the regulation order, the Socialists would elect a mayor in pite of Mayor Rose and his perfected, corporation-approved and money-controlled machine.

At this juncture, however, a new element entered the field,—a young man but twenty-six years of age, a Republican, the son of a millionaire and with reactionary environment,

but a man who during his political career had made a splendid record and displayed much of the same strength of character in the face of entrenched corruption and privileged interests that had made Senator La Follette the popular idol of Wisconsin.

Sherburn M. Becker's first important service after entering political life was to expose the graft in the county printing. This was done after he was elected county supervisor and through his exposure the county is now saving \$35,000 a year. Last year as a member of the board of aldermen he made an excellent record on the question of a municipal lighting plant. The issue came before the city officials, when all his friends sought to influence him to oppose municipal lighting. He was told that the measure was Socialistic, that it threatened the sacredness of private capital, etc., etc.

"I am not voting for my rich friends," he replied. "I am here to represent the wishes and interests of the people who elected me, and I am going to find out what they want by taking a referendum in advance."

He accordingly sent postal cards to every voter in the ward asking him whether he favored municipal lighting or private lighting. The result showed that the electors desired municipal lighting, and he accordingly supported public-ownership.

He has consistently fought graft and the grafters, so he has won the confidence of a large number of the most progressive citizens, and from his action on the lighting plant and his readiness to carry out the wishes of his constituents we are led to hope that in this young man the people may have another new leader who will stand for the principles of free government and the rights of all against the oligarchy of privileged interests, and especially the corrupt public-service corporations and their hireling hordes.

At the election Mr. Becker was triumphantly chosen, the vote being:

Becker, Republican,	22,563
Rose, the Machine Candidate,	21,010
Arnold, Socialist,	16,720

The Socialists elected eleven councilmen, a gain of one in the municipal council.

THE MOVEMENT FOR GUARDED REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

Direct-Legislation in Los Angeles.

PRESIDENT Eltwed Pomeroy of the National Direct-Legislation League has handed us for THE ARENA the following admirable summary of what Los Angeles is doing with its Direct-Legislation provisions, prepared by Mr. George H. Dunlop, Vice-President of the Direct-Legislation League of California:

"Quite a little has been doing in Direct-Legislation in Los Angeles during the past winter. A coterie of wealthy and responsible citizens, believing that the evils of intemperance could be largely mitigated by the public-ownership of the saloons under some form of the Gothenburg system, formed a private corporation which they agreed to finance. This corporation was planned to take over the ownership of all the saloons in the city, reduce their number, operate them according to strict regulations, pay six per cent. dividends on money actually invested and the balance of the profits to the city, said balance in no case to be less than the sum total of saloon licenses now collected and turn the whole business over to the city as soon as the city could get in a financial condition to pay the stockholders their actual investment.

"The intention was to submit this proposition to a vote of the people through an Initiative election. Petitions were circulated and were being freely signed when the liquor interests took fright and decided to head off the election by an attack on the constitutionality of the city charter provision providing for the Initiative. A test case was made up by their attorneys and through *habeas corpus* proceedings, the matter was taken directly to the supreme court of the state. Able lawyers have been employed on both sides, the matter is now before the court on briefs and a decision on its merits is hoped for within three months. The main ground of the attack is that the Initiative is not a republican form of government and that the United States Constitution guarantees to each state 'a republican form of government.' They forget that the Swiss constitution, largely copied from our own, guarantees to each Canton 'a republican form of government either Democratic or Representative,' and that the New England

town-meetings and a great variety of local and state Referendums and Initiatives would be swept out of existence should their contention be sustained. It does not seem possible that the court should decide otherwise than in favor of the charter provisions, but one can never foretell what a court whose composition has been largely determined by the Southern Pacific Railroad, will do and should it be declared unconstitutional, the decision will at once be appealed to the United States Supreme Court.

"Our city has just made use of the Referendum provision of its charter, not by actually using the Referendum but by threatening to use it. The city council, without an hour's warning that such a matter was under consideration or even thought of, suddenly, late one afternoon, granted, for nothing, to an unknown dummy, a franchise for a railroad right of way over the only unoccupied location over which a new transcontinental railway could enter the city. When the newspapers conveyed the information to the citizens the next morning, their surprise and indignation was great. The councilmen tried to look wise and asserted that they had private but convincing evidence that the franchise was for a certain transcontinental railroad which the people of Los Angeles are very desirous should build this way. In answer to telegrams from the newspapers, however, the president of that railroad replied that the application for the franchise had not been made for his railroad and he hoped the city would reserve the right of way for him. Thereupon the leading civic and commercial bodies of the city notified the council that unless the franchise was immediately withdrawn, they would force a Referendum on it. Public indignation had counted for nothing, the council had twice voted favorably on the franchise but the threat from responsible citizens of the Referendum was too much. The conspirators threw up their hands and the game was abandoned.

"At this point the president of the local street and urban railroad monopoly came forward and admitted that the application for the franchise had been made in his behalf, regretted the unfortunate mistake that had been made in the manner of the application

etc., etc., and wished to negotiate with the city for the use of the right of way on terms that would be satisfactory to the city. All of this would have been very different had the people not had the Referendum or right to veto.

"Councilman Ford of the first ward has not given satisfaction to many of his constituents and petitions are out for his recall and the election of another man to his office."

We call special attention to Mr. Dunlop's story of how the possession of the right to use the Referendum saved the city from being betrayed to a corrupt and greedy corporation by dark-lantern methods. In almost all cases of wholesale robbery of the people's inestimably valuable franchises in cities and states during the past twenty-five years, the possession of the Referendum would have prevented the robbery perpetrated in the interests of corrupt corporations through the treason, perfidy and infamy of those who had sworn to protect and uphold the rights of the people.

When a few years ago Mr. Wanamaker offered a princely sum for the street franchises of Philadelphia, and also promised to bind himself to turn the car-service over to the city whenever the municipality desired, for merely what he had expended on the same together with a reasonable interest on the money invested, the corrupt mayor threw the offer into his waste-basket and gave these inestimably rich franchises to a band of public plunderers without demanding any return for the city. If the people had had the right to use the Referendum this crime would never have been attempted, as the rascals would have known well that it would have been overwhelmingly vetoed by the electorate.

In Switzerland nothing has been more frequently noted than the fact that the possession of the Initiative and Referendum has made the public servants so truly responsive to the interests and desires of the people that the public has enjoyed as never before an almost ideally popular rule, without having to resort to the Initiative and Referendum save in exceptional cases.

Direct-Legislation in Ohio.

MR. ELTWEED POMEROY sends us a somewhat extended report of Direct-Legislation in Ohio, compiled by Mr. A. Ross Read of Akron, a well-known Direct-Legislation advocate from the Buckeye State. From this

report we condense the following facts which will prove of interest to our readers:

In 1903 the present Direct-Legislation League of Ohio was organized at Columbus, where it has since held annual conventions, the last being attended by five times as many delegates as were at any previous meeting.

In the winter of 1904 a resolution prepared by the Direct-Legislation League was presented by request in the House of Representatives by L. O. Lawson of Cleveland, but the indifference with which he and his colleagues treated the subject was fatal to action at that time. The efforts of outside friends of the bill coupled with its few advocates failed to effect its emergence from committee.

This failure convinced the friends of popular government that a vigorous educational agitation was necessary throughout the state, and in succeeding months of that year local leagues were organized to act in conjunction with the state league. In many counties, where such organizations were not feasible, local committees and individuals took up the work and aided the propaganda.

Lack of financial support made the work necessarily fragmentary in character; yet from the headquarters in Cleveland a systematic questioning and pledging of candidates for the legislature was carried on persistently and with encouraging results.

The reform-wave which swept over Ohio in 1905 turned the scales in favor of John M. Patterson for governor and also carried many candidates for the legislature into office who were pledged to Direct-Legislation. These candidates, however, were not confined to the Democratic party which nominated Mr. Patterson. Some of the most ardent advocates of the cause came from the Republican ranks. The league is strictly non-partisan or omni-partisan and aims to have the legislature work on the same lines, making the issue preëminently a people's cause.

After the convening of the legislature in January, 1906, Frederic C. Howe of Cleveland introduced the League's resolution, proposing an amendment to the state constitution for the Direct Initiative and Optional Referendum. Senator Howe had previously been a zealous advocate of the principle and as senator labored energetically and ably for the passage of the resolution until it was accomplished on March 6th, receiving the requisite three-fifths vote of the body,—23 ayes to 13 nays. All the Democrats except one and

five Republicans voted for the measure. The resolution then went to the House and there remained in the hands of the Judiciary Committee until its adjournment. Owing to the fact that the same legislature will meet again in January, 1908, and that the amendment cannot constitutionally be submitted to a vote until the following November, the failure to

bring the resolution to a final vote in the House is no question for regret, since its passage in the body at that time was doubtful. The intervening period will be used by the friends of Direct-Legislation in creating more public sentiment and in the endeavor to secure enough favor from the present representatives to insure its success at the next session.

SOCIALISM IN AMERICA: A NOTABLE SYMPOSIUM.

The New York World Opens Its Columns to a Discussion of Socialism.

THE NEW YORK *World* recently threw open its columns to a general discussion for and against Socialism which has become one of the most interesting and informing symposiums that has appeared in America. Here a great number of leading thinkers in almost every walk of life have expressed their views in a manner that cannot fail to greatly stimulate a healthy interest in vital social, economic and political questions. In speaking of these letters the *World* says editorially:

"We can recall no instance in which a newspaper has printed a series of letters from its readers which showed more intelligence, study and familiarity with an intricate subject, not excepting even the many extraordinary letters which the *World* printed in regard to insurance corruption.

"One thing above all others is demonstrated by this controversy. There is almost universal belief that great evils have grown up under our industrial system, and that these evils must be grappled with."

Space forbids our noticing these views at length, but we cannot refrain from giving some extracts representing different views entertained by prominent thinkers on this great subject which is more and more engaging the attention of the civilized world.

The Rev. R. Heber Newton on Socialism.

We especially call the attention of our readers to the following views by the Rev. R. Heber Newton, because the distinguished divine is recognized everywhere as one of the ablest, most fearless, broad-visioned and deeply religious scholars in the Protestant Episcopal Church of the New World, and his views show

how absurd are the hysterical cries of certain reactionary clergymen that the philosophy of Socialism is antagonistic to the ethics of Christianity. In giving his views on Socialism Dr. Newton says:

"In response to your invitation for an expression of opinion upon Mr. Hanna's statement to the effect that the Presidential campaign in 1912 would be fought upon the issue of Socialism, I offer a few words.

"Mr. Hanna's prediction seems to me likely to become true. For one I hope that it may so prove—Mayor McClellan to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Many years ago I was persuaded of the truth of Socialism as an ethical ideal for the economic world. That much I learned from the noble band of Christian Socialists in England, which included such men as Frederick Dennison Maurice, Charles Kingsley and Thomas Hughes. I do not see how there can be two opinions on that point. Competition may be, as it undoubtedly is, a law of nature, but it is the law of the lower nature, not of the higher. Even in the world of animal life below us it is ranked by a higher law as life advances. Most signal illustrations of co-operation are to be found in the animal world, as indeed there is to be found thorough-going Socialism and communism there. Nature includes both laws. As she pushes life upward she provides a higher law than that of mere competition. The evils engendered under competition, its fraud and immorality, its dry rot through the body politic, its cruelty and oppression—all this is manifestly contrary to 'the mind that was in Christ Jesus.' If ever we are to have a Christian society it must organize itself by a higher law than that of competition.

"That there are grave difficulties in the way

of such a higher order goes without saying. Those difficulties have seemed until of late well-nigh insuperable. None the less, when one is convinced that the Socialistic ethic is right he must have little faith in the ethical principle of the universe who despairs of achieving Socialism some day or other, somehow or other. For years I have trusted the principle without seeing how it was to realize itself.

"Within the last few years light has dawned upon this question. It is no longer open to incredulous minds to laugh down the question of Socialism as utterly impracticable. The evolution of the trust has changed the whole situation. Under natural forces our business world has developed an astounding tendency toward concentration and consolidation. Competition is recognized to have had its day. Something else must follow—is following. A virtual monopoly is coming upon the field everywhere. The superiority of the trust organization has already demonstrated itself. Our great captains of industry have shown us how to organize and conduct business on other than a competitive basis. They are developing the machinery for a Socialistic state. The evils of the trust inhere in its monopoly. It remains only for the people at large, through the city, state and nation, to take possession of the monopolies which it has allowed to grow up in the hands of capital, and to set the expert ability which the trust has developed at the task of carrying on these gigantic corporations in the interest of the people.

"There are difficulties of course in plenty, but the way is open and we can see the direction in which it is leading. We are already in the initial stages of the Socialistic evolution—only most people having eyes to see do not see. The last year or two has done more to force the Socialistic evolution than many a year before it. Coincident with the evolution of the machinery for Socialism there is going on an unfolding of the immorality of the business world, and so of the political world, which has at least startled the nation. There are few men now who do not realize the dry rot that has set in throughout the fiber of the body politic under the influence of our 'high finance.' The revolt of the people from the astonishing revelations of graft is reinforcing the ethical demand for a higher organization of industry, that will provide an environment more favorable to the simple moralities. It

has become patent that the question of our national life is involved in this question of furthering the Socialistic ideal. We simply cannot go on as we have been going on during the last decade. The McCurdys have after all, as father McCurdy declared, been doing 'missionary work'—only of another sort than he fancied."

Dr. Newton further states that he has no cut and dried vision of the state under Socialism. He believes in the step-by-step method and holds that the first and most important immediate advance step should be municipal ownership of municipal utilities and national ownership of such natural monopolies as the railways and telephones. He closes his letter with these words:

"Good luck to the cause of 'ownership by the people and for the people' of all public utilities and all natural monopolies!"

Why Ernest Crosby Opposes Socialism.

Ernest Crosby is probably the most distinguished disciple of Count Tolstoi in America. He is an extreme individualist and is as much of a non-resistant as is the great Russian philosopher. He holds, as do many reformers, that through the freeing of the land and the emancipation of the people from the thrall of privilege, which with land monopoly creates inequality of opportunities and is a chief factor in the acquisition of unearned wealth, justice and progress can be best conserved. These are his views as they are expressed in the *World* symposium:

"In so far as Socialism embodies a condemnation of the injustices of our present *régime* I heartily commend it and believe that it is consistent with the best American spirit. When, however, it presents the public ownership of all means of production as a remedy it seems to me to offer an impracticable solution, and one that would not be consistent with American ideas of freedom of the individual and personal initiative.

"The errors of Socialism are:

"(1) Its distrust of natural laws. It condemns competition, for instance, a law of nature quite independent of man's motives, failing to see that its operation is beneficent when conditions are really free, as they are not today.

"(2) Its materialism. It declares that history is altogether controlled by the material

environment, and that idealism has no part in shaping the future.

"(3) Its dogmatism. It believes that it can predict the future with absolute exactitude, which is absurd.

"(4) Its insistence that the struggle for justice is a class struggle.

"(5) Its neglect of the element of freedom. We are far from enjoying freedom to-day, but under Socialism we should be still further from it, and the spirit of most Socialists is narrow and intolerant in the extreme.

"My own view of the proper course to pursue is to discover the origin of the various injustices that prevail and cure at them the source. In my opinion they are all due to monopoly of one kind or another, and all monopolies should be abolished, including the monopoly of sites, which could be ended by a single tax on land values. This would mean extreme democracy, liberalism and free trade, and would leave the field open for voluntary coöperation, as the only kind of Socialism which is consistent with freedom."

Two Methodist Clergymen on Socialism.

Bishop Charles C. M'Cabe of Philadelphia wrote a brief paper displaying more ignorance and confusion of thought on this subject and on political issues in general than we have ever had the ill fortune to come across in the same compass in print. It seems incredible indeed that any writer would confuse Socialism with the Democratic platform of 1896, as does Bishop M'Cabe; yet even more astounding is his insistence that Socialism and anarchy are analogous. More as an intellectual curiosity and as an illustration of how ignorant and confused in thought are many people who assume to lead others than for any value it contains, we reproduce Bishop M'Cabe's letter in full:

"The Socialists can never win in a Presidential election. They may carry a state or a section, but not enough to carry a national election. The rejection of their notions in the platform of 1896 was the strongest thing against Bryan in that memorable campaign. If they have grown since, so has the sentiment against them, and it has grown deeper and solidier than ever before.

"The Socialist has had his best day. His kindred heresies, free silver and inflated currency, have died. His is a worse heresy and

has none of the sympathy of honest, thoughtful but misguided people who stood with the others. He must rely chiefly on the new voters who come from the immigrant class, but we are having from year to year more intelligent, better instructed and more carefully watched immigrant voters. Again, the Socialist in his last analysis is an Anarchist, and this country, from Roosevelt down, is getting to be an uncongenial place for Anarchists."

The Rev. Norman M'Leod, a Methodist clergyman in New York State, replies to Bishop M'Cabe at length in this symposium. We, however, have only room for that part of his answer which relates to the astounding and palpably untrue statement concerning Socialists and anarchists. Mr. M'Leod quotes Bishop M'Cabe's statement that "the Socialist in the last analysis is an anarchist," and then asks:

"Is Herr Bebel an anarchist? Is John Burns, or M. Jaurès, or Jack London? Or does Eugene Debs writing with his wife sewing beside him look like a bomb-thrower? This kind of criticism of Hearst's 'Socialism' largely brought about the amazing election in New York. The people know better.

"Anarchy is a belief in absolute individualism. Socialism is all system and law. Where is the similarity? Anarchy, free love, etc., are aspersions cast at Socialism that are rapidly antiquating themselves. All Socialistic literature advocates a revolution by the ballot-box. Would the Bishop like all evangelists to be classed 'fanatics'? He is an evangelist and knows the force of the argument. Then deal intelligently with Socialism.

"Is the Socialist vote cast by ignorant people, mostly foreign? The last vote was fairly well distributed all over the country. What reason have we to make the statement of Socialism alone? A friend of mine entered his university (not a million miles from the Pulitzer Building) and heard three professors, two favoring Socialism and one advocating it unmistakably. Is all this unrest concerning individualism indulged in by ignorant people?"

The Mayor of Buffalo on Socialism.

We close these quotations with the concluding paragraph from the letter to the *World* by Mayor J. N. Adam of Buffalo:

"Socialism would not absorb our country;

our country would assimilate so much of Socialism as agreed with its constitution. It would be a great thing for Socialism and it would be no calamity for our country—because every principle, every party, every person is welcome in this nation not only to an existence, but to a place of power if he or it is worthy, practical and not un-American. I do not believe in any kind of Socialism that

is built on selfishness. The original platform of Socialism is found in the Bible: Do unto others as you would have others do unto you—not do others as they do you. Good Socialism would level up. Bad Socialism would level down. If there is to be any leveling, let it be leveling up. But let us all remember that it is difficult to get human nature on the level—either up or down.”

PROSPERITY UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS AND IN THE UNITED STATES: A COMPARISON.

Bountiful Harvests in New Zealand and Australia.

WE LEARN from the excellent Australian monthly, *Life*, published at Melbourne, that:

“A wave of genuine prosperity is visibly sweeping over Australia and New Zealand. Everywhere the harvest is rich, the wool clip is good, and the price of wool is high. All the great natural industries are expanding and the volume of export to the old land grows richer and fuller.”

While all right-minded people will learn of this prosperity with profound gratification, it will not add to the pleasure of those prophets of evil who have long been predicting dire evils for the commonwealths of the southern seas on account of laws enacted which place the interests and welfare of all the people before the enrichment of privileged classes and small coteries of over-rich men who through class-legislation and immunity baths furnished by considerate judges or cunning law-makers are enabled unjustly to oppress, plunder and exploit the masses without fear of prison or other just retribution. These special-pleaders for privileged interests have evidently counted upon years of drouth and crop failure to produce financial depression and hard times, which could be seized upon as results of Socialistic legislation.

Marked Difference in The Results on Good Crops in New Zealand and in The United States.

There is a marked difference in the general results to the people and the nation as a whole, flowing from seasons of good crops and good prices in class-ruled nations or nations in the grip of public-service corporations and mo-

nopolies, and in governments like New Zealand, which are conscientiously administered in such a way as to conserve the prosperity of all and prevent any class or group of men from obtaining, through monopoly rights and other special privileges, advantages that would render possible the placing of the many at the mercy of the privileged few, as are the American people placed at the mercy of the public-service corporations, the trusts and monopolies to-day.

Good crops and good prices in New Zealand mean more and better educational advantages for every child instead of the evils of child labor. They mean better homes and more comforts for all the people and a general and liberal per capita rise in wealth, without the swelling or the possibility of the swelling of the fortunes of a privileged few to unhealthy limits. Hence good crops and good prices mean sound and general prosperity, a higher level of citizenship and a nobler expanding of the life of the individual; while with us the corruption at the zenith is always enormously stimulated during seasons of good crops, as they are made the means of further augmentation of acquired wealth and the extension of the corruption of government by the privileged ones. Thus when New Zealand experiences seasons of prosperity, all the people are perceptibly leveled up and become more and more independent and better able to properly care for, educate and cultivate those dependent upon them.

Concrete Illustrations of The Spoliation of The Wealth-Creators Under Our Present Régime of Class Rule.

With us, when we have seasons of prosperity through bountiful harvests, a large proportion of the surplus is diverted into the pockets of

the few who enjoy monopoly rights and special privileges. Thus the great railway magnates are enabled to enormously swell their fortunes. Senator La Follette in his masterly address in the United States Senate on the Railroad Rate Bill showed one way in which this was done. He pointed out that "while the railroads are capitalized at \$13,000,000,000, the actual investment is only about \$5,000,000,000." He further showed that: "If four per cent. is a fair rate of earning, the railroads of this country are charging annually at least \$485,000,000 more for transportation than is a fair return upon their investment and a just compensation for the services rendered." Thus in times of large crops the public-carriers stand between the producers and consumers and extort from the wealth-creators enormous sums above a fair interest on investments and a just return for services. These vast sums would not be taken from the people if our government owned and operated the railways as does the government of New Zealand.

But not only do the railways take a princely share of the wealth created by the toilers, in excess of a fair and just return for investment and services rendered, which in effect is robbery of the wealth-creators, but behind the railways stand the great trusts which have obtained monopoly privileges through connivance and aid of the railways and through special legislation, and which control or largely control the food products, such as the beef-trust and the grain-trust. These organizations extort other millions which would otherwise go to the producers and consumers and which are diverted into the pockets of the monopolists, further augmenting the fortunes "swollen beyond all healthy limit."

Nor does the spoliation of the millions end with the public-service corporations and the great food-trusts that stand between the producers and consumers. Behind them rise another band of tariff-fed monopolists that by special legislation have bought the privilege

to rob the American people in the most shameless manner. One typical example will illustrate this fact. The railroads are compelled to use great quantities of iron and steel. The cost of this is a great factor in the expenses of the railways, which ultimately the traffic or the producing and consuming public must bear. Through the protective tariff the steel-trust is enabled not only to shut out foreign competition, but also to charge the American people from \$6 to \$11 per ton more for steel than it charges the citizens of England and Canada for the identical product delivered at its destination. Now this legalized permission to extort these fabulously high prices from the American people is making a few multi-millionaires by robbing all the people of America directly or indirectly. And what is true of the increased cost which primarily the railways but ultimately the people pay for iron and steel used by the public carriers is equally true of the numbers of other protected products that are creating multi-millionaires through special privileges granted. Agricultural implements, sewing-machines and in fact, hundreds of articles which are necessitated by modern civilization are manufactured in this country, shipped to foreign lands and sold at a figure far less than that charged the American people.

Thus the wealth-creators of America in prosperous seasons or years of bountiful crops are the victims on every hand of privileged interests that through monopoly rights or special laws are able to divert a large proportion of the wealth created by the toilers into the pockets of a few scores of men; and this marks in a radical way the difference between a government of the people, by the people and for the people, such as we find in New Zealand, and a plutocracy or a government of corporate wealth bulwarked by class-laws and monopoly rights, operated by political bosses and money-controlled machines for the benefit of corporate or class-interests and multi-millionaire Wall-street high financiers.

COÖPERATION AT HOME AND ABROAD.

Co-operative Stores in America.

WE HAVE recently received from the Bureau of Labor and Industrial Statistics of the State of Wisconsin an extremely interesting monograph dealing

with the co-operative stores of America.

In 1896 Professor E. W. Bemis conducted for the United States Department of Labor the most careful investigation of the subject that had been attempted. His report showed

that there were then 70 coöperative stores in this country, with a possible membership of 19,000. The Wisconsin investigators report 343 stores at the present time in the United States. Of these 163 reported a membership of 36,286, the sales amounting to \$10,000,000 a year. The average dividends on capital for the stores that reported was 9 per cent., and the dividends on purchases of members amounted to 6 per cent.

Through the growth of coöperative stores has not been as rapid or satisfactory as could be desired or expected during the past ten years, the increase from 70 to 343 indicates a healthy movement in the right direction.

Co-operation in Canada.

THE *Canadian Coöperator* publishes a list of over forty coöperative organizations, including factories, stores, bakeries, fruit-packing and shipping companies and other industries that are being successfully operated, and this, it is claimed, is only a partial list of the coöperative enterprises in the Dominion. Of these organizations probably the largest

is the Farmers' Coöperative Harvesting Machine Company of Toronto. Its membership is about 6,000. The Farmers' Binder Twine Company of Brantford contains about 8,000 members.

Slowly but steadily voluntary coöperation is spreading over the civilized world. Where it gains a firm foothold its growth is steady and its benefits are obvious. It is ethically sound and commercially wise. It is the keynote of twentieth-century economic advance.

The Enormous Annual Business of The English Co-operative Wholesale Society.

SOME idea of the enormous proportions to which the business of the English Coöperative Wholesale Society has grown may be gained from the report of the secretary for 1905, which shows that the business handled during the year amounted to £21,000,000, or almost \$105,000,000. The society anticipates that during this year the business will reach £23,000,000. The increase of business in 1905 over the preceding year was \$1,260,000.

NOTABLE EVENTS IN FOREIGN LANDS.

The Growth of Democratic Ideals in Germany.

A RECENT issue of *La Revue* contains a very thoughtful paper on the steady spread of democratic ideals throughout Germany which confirms the statements made to us by correspondents and the observations of many intelligent travelers who have returned from different parts of the German Empire.

Until the defeat of Russia in the late war and the general uprising of the people throughout the empire of the Czar, Kaiser William and the reactionaries had regarded St. Petersburg as the citadel of autocratic strength and had sought in the Russian Empire for suggestions as to ways and means for covertly neutralizing or destroying the influence of democratic ideals and sentiments. The Kaiser was determined not only to break the backbone of the rapidly growing power of Social Democracy, but also to emphasize with increasing pressure the centralized or autocratic power of the throne. With this object in view

he made overtures to the Catholic party and strove to draw to him as closely as possible the very rich *bourgeoisie*—men like Herr Krupp, for example.

The outcome of the Russo-Japanese war and the general revolutionary uprisings throughout Russia, however, shattered the dearest dream of the Kaiser who with his councillors now found it necessary to reluctantly turn westward for ideals of government. Meanwhile, with the exception of Prussia and some small districts in southwestern Germany where reactionary ideals have gained ascendancy, the growth of Social Democracy has been steady, while, as the writer in *La Revue* shows, the force of civilization has been leagued with the growth of democracy. The spread of education, the multiplication of libraries, the rapid decline in the power of old-time dogmatic theology, all are working for democratic advance; while another great change that is transforming Germany is contributing perhaps more than anything else to the destruction of autocratic and reactionary

ideals. Germany up to a generation ago was an agricultural rather than an industrial empire, and as it was in England, so it has been in Germany: The growth of cities and the spread of factories in which great multitudes are brought into close contact and come to feel the oneness of the interests of the workers and their mutual dependence, have contributed to a steady rise in the democratic temper of the people. The growth of the cities and the transformation of Germany from an agricultural to a manufacturing empire, more than any other single cause, are rendering the ascendancy of democratic ideals inevitable, while many other things are adding to the general current of liberalism.

Mr. Morley and India.

AS WE predicted, the decision of Mr. Morley referring to the prayer of India in regard to the partitioning of Bengal has proved a bitter disappointment to the Indians and has lowered the regard and reverence of the people for the great statesman. The *Indian Review* for March states that the address of Mr. Morley is, however, far less disappointing than the garbled dispatches sent out at the time of its delivery, and this able journal ventures the hope that he may yet reverse his decision. It says:

"Mr. Morley's speech does not indicate that his decision is final or irrevocable, and as he said recently in another matter, there 'is no finality in these things.' Bengalees may hope—it may be, hoping against hope—that though the mischief of the Partition cannot be undone, yet at no very distant date its evil effects may be minimized by a more popular and juster redistribution of the population, than that effected by the present scheme."

We sincerely hope and trust that Mr. Morley will modify his position and be great and wise enough to be just to India and to consult her wishes in this matter. Mr. Morley has too great a name and too fair a fame to allow himself to follow in the reactionary pathway trodden by the Balfour Ministry. Up to the time of his entering the new cabinet there was probably no living Englishman who stood higher in the love and regard of the friends of freedom and democracy the world over than John Morley, and we sincerely hope that he will measure up in this crucial hour to the same level reached by his statesmanship and liberal-

ism in earlier days, and that he will exemplify in administration the same moral idealism that has given charm and compelling power to his noble writings.

An Astounding Recent Illustration of Medieval Religious Bigotry and Intolerance.

GREAT indignation is being expressed in England over the oath to which the Princess Ena was compelled to subscribe—an oath which is a gratuitous insult to the King of England, his revered mother, the loved Queen Victoria, and the Anglican Communion. Here is this amazing oath, which breathes a spirit of religious intolerance and bigotry which we had hoped the most reactionary church had long since outgrown:

"I, recognizing as true the Catholic and apostolic faith, do hereby publicly anathematize every heresy, especially that to which I have had the misfortune to belong. I agree with the holy Roman Church, and profess with mouth and heart my belief in the Apostolic See, and my adhesion to that faith which the holy Roman Church, by evangelical and apostolical authority, delivers to be held. Swearing this by the sacred Homousian, or trinity of the same substance, and by holy gospels of Christ, I do pronounce those worthy of eternal anathema who oppose this faith with their dogmas and their followers, and should I myself at any time presume to approve or proclaim anything contrary hereto, I will subject myself to the severity of the canon law. So help me God, and these his holy gospels."

The *London Examiner* thus voices the sentiment pretty generally expressed in England among broad-minded people who think for themselves:

"We have been watching during the past few days, with a good deal of curiosity, the methods of the Roman Church in France and Spain; and have been drawing our conclusions as to the desirability of giving that Church preferential treatment in our State schools. We have not the slightest desire to play to the Orange gallery. The conversion of a Protestant princess into a Catholic queen does not occasion us even a passing throe of apprehension and alarm. . . . She has now been compelled piously to anathematize the Anglican heresy, which we may be

allowed to say seems a little hard on her mother and the instructors of her youth. It has transpired that the ceremony of abjuration was to have taken place in Rome with all suitable publicity, but the Duke of Norfolk and his friends felt that it was not desirable to give too much prominence to this ceremony of cursing the English Church, especially at a time when England was being asked to modify the coronation oath, and give special privileges to her Catholic subjects in her schools.

"This remarkable oath is, of course, a deliberate insult to the King of England, and to the memory of the Princess Ena's grandmother, the noblest queen that ever sat upon a throne. Both of them are declared to be 'worthy of eternal anathema.' The same sweeping judgment is passed upon practically the whole English people. For although the Church that is 'especially' denounced and anathematized is the Anglican Church, we do not suppose that Non-Conformists would receive any marks of consideration."

EDUCATION.

Co-education: A Case in Which Doctors Disagree.

DR. WILLIAM LEE HOWARD, the eminent psychologist and specialist in nervous diseases, is as outspoken in his opposition to coeducation in high schools as is Dr. G. Stanley Hall. Dr. Howard views the question from the standpoint of the physician and psychologist and is absolutely confident of the truth of his position. Yet on the other hand there are many able thinkers, whose practical knowledge of actual results is based on extensive personal observation as heads of great coeducational institutions, that are quite as outspoken in favor of coeducation as are Doctors Hall and Howard against it.

The results in the University of Michigan and Oberlin College have long seemed to refute the chief objections of those who oppose coeducation; while in Cornell and in Leland Stanford University the favorable results have been quite as pronounced. The Hon. Andrew D. White, long President of Cornell and one of the ablest university presidents which the United States has produced, recently delivered the following outspoken words at a gathering of the Cornell alumni:

"From first to last," said Dr. White, "co-education has been, in my opinion, a success. The admission of women to Cornell has been in all respects a blessing to the young men. Some think Cornell would be a little more 'nobby' if women were not admitted—it would be a little more like Harvard, or Yale, or Princeton. I have a great respect for those institu-

tions, but I prefer that we should remain as we are. It was said women would lower the standard of scholarship. In view of the way the girls have swept away the prizes, I think one reason for the opposition to their presence now rests on their excellence. Our men students are far better behaved than they were fifty years ago, and the chief reason for the improvement is the presence of women. Yale may wait as long as she likes, Columbia and Harvard may have their annexes; coeducation will come in time."

While President David Starr Jordan of Leland Stanford University has this to say in *Munsey's Magazine* in reply to Dr. Hall's attack on coeducation:

"It is of great advantage to both men and women to meet on a plane of equality in education. There are about three classes of college boys who seem to object to the presence of college women. These may be classed as the boorish, the diletante, and the dissolute. I have rarely found opposition to coeducation on the part of really serious students."

The physiologists and psychologists will doubtless reply that the presidents and professors are not sufficiently trained to be competent judges; but the educators would doubtless reply to this that their critics are academic theorists, lacking in the wider knowledge based on close observation enjoyed by the experienced educators who for years have had hundreds upon hundreds of young people of both sexes under their personal direction.

THE INFERNO OF PACKINGTOWN REVEALED.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I. THE NOVELIST AS A PROPHET OF PROGRESS.

SINCE the days when Charles Dickens wrought a revolutionary work for the poor, leading to the abolition of many abuses practiced against poverty's children, the paupers and the debtors of Great Britain, fiction has been one of the most effective weapons in the warfare against injustice, oppression and evil conditions; and novelists like Victor Hugo and Zola in France were quick to appreciate the fact that he who would reach and sway the reason of the masses must appeal to it through the imagination and by a double appeal, addressed to the heart and brain—an appeal that should move the sympathy while convincing the reason.

And thus we find that the novelists of modern times frequently correspond to the great prophets of old who came as voices in the wilderness of national life that had become sodden and deadened by the ascendancy of materialistic egoism over moral idealism. The prophets of old were relentless and uncompromising in their unmasking of the great evils that were eating at the vitals of society and blighting the happiness, prosperity and orderly development of the life of the people. They were stern, austere and unyielding as fate in their warfare on the great wrongs of their time, and because of their merciless exposures of the crimes of the rich and the powerful, they called forth the savage denunciations of sleek conventionalism and aroused the scorn and hatred of conservatism. Frequently they were socially ostracized, sometimes they were slain, and always there were many interested ones who strove to impeach their veracity and sincerity, to impute unworthy motives and to discredit their work simply because they forced society to recognize the corrupt and evil conditions that were inimical to a healthy national life or to the happiness and progress of the people. But in spite of all the clamor and denunciations of the forces of conventionalism, conservatism and entrenched iniquity, the voice of the

prophet, holding the potency of truth, disintegrated the Jericho-wall of evil.

So it is with us to-day. The novelist who becomes the prophet of social righteousness and the uncompromising voice of human misery pleading for the destruction of the battlements of injustice, bulwarked by human greed, awakens savage opposition on the part of smug conservatism, easy-going conventionalism and organized greed, as of old. But here again, as in the earlier day, the true word when spoken becomes fruitful in minds of the nobler order and hearts vibrant with human sympathy, and each of these messages reinforces the apostles of civilization and the forces of the light in their warfare against entrenched injustice, oppression and wrong.

The book which we are about to notice is one of the strongest and most powerful voices of protest against a great wrong that has appeared in America. Indeed, excepting Frank Norris' *The Octopus*, we do not think the New World has produced any novel of exposure and protest quite so powerful and compelling in its influence as *The Jungle*, by Upton Sinclair.

II. A PREDICTION AND ITS FULFILMENT.

A short time before *The Jungle* appeared in book form we were conversing with a literary friend and the new work of Upton Sinclair was touched upon. We had only seen a few chapters of the book, but our friend had read the entire story and pronounced it a novel comparable in many respects to some of Zola's best writing. "It is a book," he said, "that ought to produce a profound sensation, and it would were it not for two things: in the first place, capitalism to-day has its hand on so large a portion of the press that it is useless to hope that any work so bold, circumstantial and convincing in its exposure of evil conditions will receive full or fair treatment; in the second place, the author has in the closing chapter made a strong appeal for Socialism which will make against it with many critics who are prejudiced against the philosophy of Socialism." And then, turning to us, he said: "Tell me what you think will be its reception." *

* *The Jungle*. By Upton Sinclair. Cloth. Pp. 414. Price, \$1.50. New York: The Doubleday, Page & Company.

We replied: "A friend of ours insists that the packing interests cannot afford to permit it to go out to the world. Its revelations are so damning that they will be compelled to suppress it at whatever cost, and they have millions with which to do this as well as vast political influence."

But our friend smilingly shook his head.

"He is all wrong," he replied. "There may be something that the packing-house interests dread a great deal more than the revelations of *The Jungle*, and that is an official investigation of the business. You remember how when Hyde and Alexander began fighting in the Equitable, foxy Chauncey Depew, knowing so well the skeletons in the plutocratic closet, set out with a firm hand to hush up the scandal while he insisted to the public that everything was harmonious. Depew knew what an investigation would mean. So Governor Higgins must have known when he so long resolutely refused to allow the legislature to examine into the condition of the insurance world. Now as I understand it," continued our friend, "there is nothing in *The Jungle* that cannot be substantiated." The New York publishers sent a competent lawyer to Chicago to make a careful investigation to see if the facts could be substantiated, so as to make it safe to publish the book, before they would bring it out; and this lawyer returned satisfied that they were quite safe in publishing the work as it appears."

"Well," we replied, "then our prediction is that the press that is beholden to corporate or plutocratic interests and those reactionary journals that are out of sympathy with the fundamental principles of justice and democracy will denounce the book as Dickens' works—those great novels, *Paris*, *Labor*, *Fecundity* and *Truth*—were denounced, as being worthless by reason of their exaggerations of conditions pictured. These papers will belittle the novel as something of little or no real value, because they will claim it is recklessly extravagant, and they will dismiss it, saying as little in its favor as possible and not enough against it to pique the curiosity of the general reader."

"That is precisely my idea," said our friend. "It is too big a book to be ignored, but all the same it will be treated in such a way as to make the reader think it is not worth reading."

A few weeks later the book appeared and we eagerly awaited the reviews. They came

at last, precisely as we had predicted. The author, we were told, had "defeated his purpose" by his exaggerations; the work abounded in over-statements and in hysterical appeals. The power of the volume, its tremendously vivid pictures, its marvelous fidelity to life, to conditions, and to certain special phases of present-day civilization, and its value as a contribution to the virile literature of the hour were entirely ignored.

Anticipating this kind of criticism from our knowledge of the tactics of the servants and apologists of modern commercialism and the upholders of things as they are, we wrote Mr. Sinclair asking him if the alleged facts relating to the packing interests were true. In reply we received the following from the author:

"In regard to your question, I desire to be understood as intending (*The Jungle* to be a truthful picture of conditions in Packingtown, true in substance and in detail. Not merely is the whole thing true, but the special cases are true. I have not, consciously, introduced the slightest particle of exaggeration anywhere, under any circumstances.) All but one or two things, like the loss of the \$100 bill and the visit of Jurgis to the millionaire's palace, which are obviously romance, are real experiences related to me by some one in the yards. In particular, so far as the statements about the packing-house methods are concerned, I went over the book with Doubleday-Page's lawyer after he returned from his investigation, and I cut out every line of phrase which he considered might by any possibility be an exaggeration."

III. THE GENIUS OF UPTON SINCLAIR.

The Jungle is worthy of a place by the side of Frank Norris' greatest work, *The Octopus*. These two works have more of historic truth than many histories and they are marked by that high order of genius that compels the reader to see and feel all that man can see and feel under tragic conditions similar to those described. They are, we think, the greatest realistic romances that America has given to the world. There are many realistic writers, but for the most part they succeed only in reproducing the details of common, every-day life without revealing the soul of the picture they would portray. They are superficial observers and write superficially. They are imitators and their works are dull and unprofitable. But let the man of transcendent

imagination describe a scene and we see and feel what he sees and feels. We pass behind the mask or the superficial aspects and see the interior workings of life. The soul of the picture is revealed. He sees all that is to be seen; he feels what the actors in the scene feel; he shares the boundless hopes, the lofty aspirations, the nameless fear and the measureless despair of those that move to and fro in the play. Thus when he depicts a section of life he becomes in the highest sense the historian of what he describes. It is this element of imagination that differentiates the genius from the hack writer; the poet from the versifier. It is this element of imagination also that invests a great painting with life, atmosphere, soul, that the camera can never catch, hold or reflect.

Now Upton Sinclair possesses this imaginative genius in a high degree. He is no romancer in the sense that he departs from the verities of life or is untrue to the scenes he describes. No, his power lies in the possession of the seeing eye that enables him to note all that the physical eye observes and also what the eye of the soul or the interior vision beholds. Perhaps we cannot better illustrate this than by giving the following description of the first scenes in the making of pork by machinery in the modern packing-house:

"Entering one of the Durham buildings, they found a number of other visitors waiting; and before long there came a guide, to escort them through the place. They make a great feature of showing strangers through the packing-plants, for it is a good advertisement. But Jonas Jokubus whispered maliciously that the visitors did not see any more than the packers wanted them to.

"They climbed a long series of stairways outside of the building, to the top of its five or six stories. Here were the chute, with its river of hogs, all patiently toiling upward; there was a place for them to rest and cool off, and then through another passageway they went into a room from which there is no returning for hogs.

"It was a long, narrow room, with a gallery along it for visitors. At the head there was a great iron wheel, about twenty feet in circumference, with rings here and there along its edge. Upon both sides of this wheel there was a narrow space, into which came the hogs at the end of their journey; in the midst of it stood a great burly negro, bare-armed

and bare-chested. He was resting for the moment, for the wheel had stopped while men were cleaning up. In a minute or two, however, it began slowly to revolve, and then the men upon each side of it sprang to work. They had chains which they fastened about the leg of the nearest hog, and the other end of the chain they hooked into one of the rings upon the wheel. So, as the wheel turned, a hog was suddenly jerked off his feet and borne aloft.

"At the same instant the ear was assailed by a most terrifying shriek; the visitors started in alarm, the women turned pale and shrank back. The shriek was followed by another, louder and yet more agonizing—for once started upon that journey, the hog never came back; at the top of the wheel he was shunted off upon a trolley, and went sailing down the room. And meantime another was swung up, and then another, and another, until there was a double line of them, each dangling by a foot and kicking in frenzy—and squealing. The uproar was appalling, perilous to the eardrums; one feared there was too much sound for the room to hold—that the walls might give way or the ceiling crack. There were high squeals and low squeals, grunts and wails of agony; there would come a momentary lull, and then a fresh outburst, louder than ever, surging up to a deafening climax. It was too much for some of the visitors—the men would look at each other, laughing nervously, and the women would stand with hands clenched, and the blood rushing to their faces, and the tears starting in their eyes.

"Meantime, heedless of all these things, the men upon the floor were going about their work. Neither squeals of hogs nor tears of visitors made any difference to them; one by one they hooked up the hogs, and one by one with a swift stroke they slit their throats. There was a long line of hogs, with squeals and life-blood ebbing away together; until at last each started again, and vanished with a splash into a huge vat of boiling water.

"It was all so very business-like that one watched it fascinated. It was pork-making by machinery, pork-making by applied mathematics. And yet somehow the most matter-of-fact person could not help thinking of the hogs; they were so innocent, they came so very trustingly; and they were so very human in their protests—and so perfectly within their rights! They had done nothing to deserve it; and it was adding insult to injury, as the thing

was done here, swinging them up in this cold-blooded, impersonal way, without a pretence at apology, without the homage of a tear. Now and then a visitor wept, to be sure; but this slaughtering-machine ran on, visitors or no visitors. It was like some horrible crime committed in a dungeon, all unseen and unheeded, buried out of sight and of memory.

"One could not stand and watch very long without becoming philosophical, without beginning to deal in symbols and similes, and to hear the hog-squeal of the universe. Was it permitted to believe that there was nowhere upon the earth, or above the earth, a heaven for hogs, where they were requited for all this suffering? Each one of these hogs was a separate creature. Some were white hogs, some were black; some were brown, some were spotted; some were old, some were young; some were long and lean, some were monstrous. And each of them had an individuality of his own, a will of his own, a hope and a heart's desire; each was full of self-confidence, of self-importance, and a sense of dignity. And trusting and strong in faith he had gone about his business, the while a black shadow hung over him and a horrid Fate waited in his pathway. Now suddenly it had swooped upon him, and had seized him by the leg. Relentless, remorseless, it was; all his protests, his screams, were nothing to it—it did its cruel will with him, as if his wishes, his feelings, had simply no existence at all; it cut his throat and watched him gasp out his life. . . . Perhaps some glimpse of all this was in the thoughts of our humble-minded Jurgis, as he turned to go on with the rest of the party, and muttered: 'Dieve—but I'm glad I'm not a hog!'"

V. THE LID OFF IN THE MEAT-PACKING INDUSTRY.

Of the story we shall have something to say presently; but before going further we call the attention of our readers somewhat at length to parts of Mr. Sinclair's descriptions which deal with the manufacture of certain food-products, for perhaps there is nothing in the book that will interest, or at least which concerns, the majority of easy-going Americans so much as the horrible pen-pictures of the scenes of the packing-houses where certain popular articles of diet are prepared for the public. (Here the author takes the reader behind the scenes as it were and reveals loathsome pictures in simple, direct and convincing

language.) No writer, we think, has done so much for vegetarianism as has Mr. Sinclair in *The Jungle*. Certainly American people will think twice before indulging their appetites with certain hitherto popular foods with which we are all familiar, such as canned meat, lard, sausages, etc.

Now Antanas Rudkus was, the meekest man that God ever put on earth; and so Jurgis found it a striking confirmation of what the men all said, that his father had been at work only two days before he came home as bitter as any of them, and cursing Durham's with all the power of his soul. For they had set him to cleaning out the traps; and the family sat round and listened in wonder while he told them what that meant. It seemed that he was working in the room where the men prepared the beef for canning, and the beef had lain in vats full of chemicals, and men with great forks speared it out and dumped it into trucks, to be taken to the cooking-room. When they had speared out all they could reach, they emptied the vat on the floor, and then with shovels scraped up the balance and dumped it into the truck. This floor was filthy, yet they set Antanas with his mop slopping the 'pickle' into a hole that connected with a sink, where it was caught and used over again forever; and if that were not enough, there was a trap in the pipe, where all the scraps of meat and odds and ends of refuse were caught, and every few days it was the old man's task to clean these out, and shovel their contents into one of the trucks with the rest of the meat!

"All of these were sinister incidents; but they were trifles compared to what Jurgis saw with his own eyes before long. One very curious thing he had noticed, the very first day, in his profession of shoveller of guts; which was the sharp trick of the floor-bosses whenever there chanced to come a 'slunk' calf. Any man who knows anything about butchering knows that the flesh of a cow that is about to calve, or has just calved, is no fit for food. A good many of these came every day to the packing-houses—and, of course, if they had chosen, it would have been an easy matter for the packers to keep them till they were fit for food. (But for the saving of time and fodder, it was the law that cows of this sort came along with the others, and whoever noticed it would tell the boss, and the t

would start up a conversation with the government inspector, and the two would stroll away. So in a trice the carcass of the cow would be cleaned out, and the entrails would have vanished; it was Jurgis' task to slide them into the trap, calves and all, and on the floor below they took out these 'slunk' calves, and butchered them for meat, and used even the skins of them.

"One day a man slipped and hurt his leg; and that afternoon, when the last of the cattle had been disposed of, and the men were leaving, Jurgis was ordered to remain and do some special work which this injured man had usually done. It was late, almost dark, and the government inspectors had all gone, and there were only a dozen or two of men on the floor. That day they had killed about four thousand cattle, and these cattle had come in freight trains from far states, and some of them had got hurt. There were some with broken legs, and some with gored sides; there were some that had died, from what cause no one could say; and they were all to be disposed of, here in darkness and silence. 'Downers,' the men called them; and the packing-house had a special elevator upon which they were raised to the killing-beds, where the gang proceeded to handle them with a business-like nonchalance which said plainer than any words that it was a matter of everyday routine. It took a couple of hours to get them out of the way, and in the end Jurgis saw them go into the chilling-rooms with the rest of the meat, being carefully scattered here and there so that they could not be identified. When he came home that night he was in a very somber mood, having begun to see at last how those might be right who had laughed at him for his faith in America.

"And then there was the condemned meat industry, with its endless horrors. The people of Chicago saw the government inspectors in Packingtown, and they all took that to mean that they were protected from diseased meat; they did not understand that these hundred and sixty-three inspectors had been appointed at the request of the packers, and that they were paid by the United States government to certify that all the diseased meat was kept in the state. They had no authority beyond that; for the inspection of meat to be sold in the city and state the whole force in Packingtown consisted of three henchmen of the local political machine! And shortly

afterward one of these, a physician, made the discovery that the carcasses of steers which had been condemned as tubercular by the government inspectors, and which therefore contained ptomaines, which are deadly poisons, were left upon an open platform and carted away to be sold in the city; and so he insisted that these carcasses be treated with an injection of kerosene—and was ordered to resign the same week! So indignant were the packers that they went farther, and compelled the mayor to abolish the whole bureau of inspection; so that since then there has not been even a pretence of any interference with the graft. There was said to be two thousand dollars a week hush-money from the tubercular steers alone; and as much again from the hogs which had died of cholera on the trains, and which you might see any day being loaded into box-cars and hauled away to a place called Globe, in Indiana, where they made a fancy grade of lard.

Jurgis heard of these things little by little, in the gossip of those who were obliged to perpetrate them. It seemed as if every time you met a person from a new department, you heard of new swindles and new crimes. There was, for instance, a Lithuanian who was a cattle-butcher for the place where Marija had worked, which killed meat for canning only; and to hear this man describe the animals which came to his place would have been worth while for a Dante or a Zola. It seemed that they must have agencies all over the country, to hunt out old and crippled and diseased cattle to be canned. There were cattle which had been fed on 'whiskey-malt,' the refuse of the breweries, and had become what the men call 'steerly'—which means covered with boils. It was a nasty job killing these, for when you plunged your knife into them they would burst and splash foul-smelling stuff into your face; and when a man's sleeves were smeared with blood, and his hands steeped in it, how was he ever to wipe his face, or to clear his eyes so that he could see? It was stuff such as this that made the 'embalmed beef' that had killed several times as many United States soldiers as all the bullets of the Spaniards; only the army beef, besides, was not fresh canned, it was old stuff that had been lying for years in the cellars.

"Then one Sunday evening Jurgis sat puffing his pipe by the kitchen-stove, and talking with an old fellow whom Jonas had intro-

duced, and who worked in the canning-rooms at Durham's; and so Jurgis learned a few things about the great and only Durham canned goods, which had become a national institution. They were regular alchemists as Durham's; they advertised a mushroom-catsup, and the men who made it did not know what a mushroom looked like. They advertised 'potted chicken,'—and it was like the boarding-house soup of the comic papers, through which a chicken had walked with rubbers on. Perhaps they had a secret process for making chickens chemically—who knows? said Jurgis's friend; [the things that went into the mixture were tripe, and the fat of pork, and beef suet, and the hearts of beef, and finally the waste ends of veal, when they had any. They put these up in several grades, and sold them at several prices; but the contents of the cans all came out of the same hopper. And then there was 'potted game' and 'potted grouse,' 'potted ham,' and 'devilled ham'—de-vyled, as the men called it. 'De-vyled' ham was made out of the waste ends of smoked beef that were too small to be sliced by the machines; and also tripe, dyed with chemicals so that it would not show white; and trimmings of hams and corned beef; and potatoes, skins and all; and finally the hard cartilaginous gullets of beef, after the tongues had been cut out. All this ingenious mixture was ground up and flavored with spices to make it taste like something.]

[“It was the custom, as they found, whenever meat was so spoiled that it could not be used for anything else, either to can it or else to chop it up into sausage. With what had been told them by Jonas, who had worked in the pickle-rooms, they could now study the whole of the spoiled-meat industry on the inside.]

[“Jonas had told them how the meat that was taken out of pickle would often be found sour, and how they would rub it up with soda to take away the smell, and sell it to be eaten on free-lunch counters; also of all the miracles of chemistry which they performed, giving to any sort of meat, fresh or salted, whole or chopped, any color and any flavor and any odor they chose.] In the pickling of hams they had an ingenious apparatus, by which they saved time and increased the capacity of the plant—a machine consisting of a hollow needle attached to a pump; by plunging this

needle into the meat and working with the foot, a man could fill a ham with pickle in a few seconds. (And yet, in spite of this, there would be hams found spoiled, some of them with an odor so bad that a man could hardly bear to be in the room with them.) To pump into these the packers had a second and much stronger pickle which destroyed the odor—a process known to the workers as 'giving them thirty per cent.' Also, after the hams had been smoked, there would be found some that had gone to the bad. Formerly these had been sold as 'Number Three Grade,' but later on some ingenious person had hit upon a new device, and now they would extract the bone, about which the bad part generally lay, and insert in the hole a white-hot iron. After this invention there was no longer Number One, Two, and Three Grade—there was only Number One Grade. The packers were always originating such schemes—they had what they called 'boneless hams,' which were all the odds and ends of pork stuffed into casings.

[“It was only when the whole ham was spoiled that it came into the department of Elzbieta. Cut up by the two-thousand-revolution-a-minute flyers, and mixed with half a ton of other meat, no odor that ever was in a ham could make any difference. [There was never the least attention paid to what was cut up for sausage; there would come all the way back from Europe old sausage that had been rejected, and that was mouldy and white—and it would be dosed with borax and glycerine, and dumped into the hoppers, and made over again for home consumption. There would be meat that had tumbled out on the floor, in the dirt and sawdust, where the workers had tramped and spit uncounted billions of consumption germs. There would be meat stored in great piles in rooms; and the water from leaky roofs would drip over it, and thousands of rats would race about on it. It was too dark in these storage places to see well, but a man could run his hand over these piles of meat and sweep off handfuls of the dried dung of rats.] These rats were nuisances, and the packers would put poisoned bread out for them; they would die, and then rats, bread, and meat would go into the hoppers together. This is no fairy story and no joke; the meat would be shovelled into carts, and the man who did the shovelling would not trouble to lift out a rat even when he saw

one—there were things that went into the sausage in comparison with which a poisoned rat was a tidbit. There was no place for the men to wash their hands before they ate their dinner, and so they made a practice of washing them in the water that was to be ladled into the sausage. There were the butt-ends of smoked meat, and the scraps of corned beef, and all the odds and ends of the waste of the plants, that would be dumped into old barrels in the cellar and left there. Under the system of rigid economy which the packers enforced, there were some jobs that it only paid to do once in a long time, and among these was the cleaning out of the waste-barrels. Every spring they did it; and in the barrels would be dirt and rust and old nails and stale water—and cart-load after cart-load of it would be taken up and dumped into the hoppers with fresh meat, and sent out to the public's breakfast. Some of it they would make into 'smoked' sausage—but as the smoking took time, and was therefore expensive, they would call upon their chemistry department, and preserve it with borax and color it with gelatine to make it brown. All of their sausage came out of the same bowl, but when they came to wrap it they would stamp some of it 'special,' and for this they would charge two cents more a pound."

Elsewhere we are told that in the tank-rooms that are filled with steam, and in some of which there "open vats near the level of the floor," men occasionally fell into the vats; "and when they were fished out there was never enough of them left to be worth exhibiting,—sometimes they would be overlooked for days, till all but the bones of them had gone out to the world as Durham's Pure Leaf Lard!"

This is not all our author has to say about the food preparations that are prepared for the millions, but these revelations will certainly tend to make men and women look with greater favor on a cereal, vegetable and fruit diet.

VI. THE STORY.

The story is vivid, direct, natural and convincing in style. It opens with a wedding-feast in Packingtown. The hero, Jurgis Rudkus, has just married little Ona, a fair-haired maiden who had won his heart in far-away Lithuania. Together the two families had come to America; together they were

fighting life's battles. They had found little difficulty in gaining positions in the packing-houses, and to all these simple-hearted people in this strange new world life appeared bright and full of promise. Thus the story opens in the dawn—a dawn that, however, is quickly overcast, and we pass from a day of gloom to a night of impenetrable darkness in which tragedy follows tragedy in appallingly quick succession. At every turn we say: This is the extreme; nothing can be more terrible; nothing can add to the horror or the bitterness of life. And then it is as if another door were opened by Fate and we are ushered into a still more appalling chamber of horrors.

In one sense the book is well named. In Packingtown we are in the jungle of modern brutal and brutalizing commercialism from which moral idealism has been banished, and because of its banishment the grandeur and moral greatness of the nation no less than the happiness and prosperity of the millions is giving place to the accursed military ideals of monarchies and to other principles and ideals as fatal to republican government or the normal development of the whole people as is the idea of the divine right of kings and emperors, of aristocracies or hierarchies, to oppress the people. Yet another title quite as expressive of this story would have been "The Miserables"; or perhaps an even better name would have been that which we gave to our studies of life in the social cellar—"Civilization's Inferno"; for here we see the miserables of America—the mighty and ever-increasing masses of poor and unskilled laborers, who are the victims of our social order and who are building the fortunes of multimillionaires at the frightful cost of physical health, mental development and moral life. The series of pictures here vividly presented are scenes in the inferno of modern Christian civilization. They are as true as they are tragic, and they constitute so strong an indictment against the present social order that it is not strange that the upholders of plutocracy, the political bosses and the party-machines that are the bulwarks of corporate oppression, the spoilers of the people and their tools and servants, are eagerly striving to belittle the story. The conventionalists, reactionaries and upholders of unjust laws and enthroned iniquity strove in a like manner to discredit Dickens and Victor Hugo, and later to destroy the power of Zola, after the great

Frenchman had become an aggressive social reformer.

Jurgis, the hero, is a twentieth-century Jean Valjean, of a coarser mould, it is true; but in him as in millions of men and women to-day who have fallen under the wheel, who are the exiles of society, the divine spark awaits only the voice of Infinite Justice, and in the midnight of our hero's wandering, at the moment when it seems that no star can ever shine for him, Jurgis hears the voice. A new message of hope is sounded, the gospel of brotherhood is proclaimed. He hears, he accepts, he enters the ranks of Socialism to battle against the juggernaut of the commercial despotism that is destroying the nation. In his new work he also gains a position where he is able to earn an honest livelihood while striving to enlighten and uplift the miseries of the great city and nation.

So this volume, that opens in the dawn and passes from the gloom of a cheerless day into the pitiless darkness of a starless night, ends with the red flush of the morning lighting the eastern sky. True, most of the characters with which the story opens have fallen victims of the prevailing social order, but for the oncoming millions a new day is promised. The watchers on the towers have signalled the sleeping millions; the banners are unfurled, the light is breaking, the winter and the night are passing away.

One need not accept the programme of progress as definitely laid down in the closing chapters of this book in order to sympathize

with the work and the aims of those who are heroically and with splendid self-forgetfulness battling for the triumph of a nobler social order. One may believe that the juster day will come somewhat differently; that its advent will be marked by the great uprising of the people for the overthrow of the power of the criminal rich, by utterly destroying the political machines and bosses and establishing a true democracy through the Initiative, Referendum and Recall, and passing from this victory to a warfare for the establishment and maintenance of the fundamental demands of democratic government—equality of opportunities and of rights—through the destruction of privilege; through the taking over of all natural monopolies or public utilities by the people for the benefit of all the citizens; through sacredly guarding the rights of all the people, and through the orderly operation of government in the interests of each citizen; or, in a word, through the establishment of a true democracy in the place of the present plutocracy based on machine-rule, operated for the benefit and advancement of class interests. One may conceive of a programme of progress sufficiently radical and fundamental to conserve the rights, the development and the happiness of all the people, and at the same time somewhat less arbitrary than that which Mr. Sinclair believes to be the only way; but this conviction will in no wise lessen his interest in or appreciation for this really great and sternly moral story of the civilization's inferno of the twentieth century.

THE LATEST AND ABLEST WORK ON THE RAILROAD-RATE QUESTION.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I.

The Heart of the Railroad Problem is one of the most important politico-economic works of the year. It is far and away the ablest popular discussion of the railroad rate question that has appeared. Professor Parsons is probably the best equipped thinker in America to treat this subject in a thoroughly au-

thoritative manner. For more than ten years he was a member of the faculty of the Law Department of the Boston University. He resigned his position in that important institution in order to be able to give his whole time to economic and historic research necessitated for the proper preparation of certain great works he had in mind, the first fruit of which was his magnificent book on New Zealand, a work which is admitted by the most competent thinkers of Australasia to be in-

* *The Heart of the Railroad Problem.* By Professor Frank Parsons, Ph. D. Cloth. Pp. 364. Price, \$1.50, net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

comparably the ablest book on that wonderful commonwealth that has appeared.

For twenty years the relation of the railways to the people has been the subject of special research by Professor Parsons, and during the past three years a very large portion of his time has been spent in the preparation of his great work, *The Railways, The Trusts and The People*, which is at this writing on the press of Dr. C. F. Taylor of Philadelphia. For the data for this work and the present volume Professor Parsons traveled over three-fourths of the United States and visited nine European countries, studying the railways, "meeting railroad presidents and managers, ministers of railways, members of railway commissions, governors, senators, and leading men of every class, in the effort to get a thorough understanding of the railway situation. He also made an extensive study of the railroad literature of leading countries, and examined thoroughly the reports and decisions of the commissions and courts in railroad cases in the United States." In a word, every door of knowledge that promised to yield any important truth in relation to the railway question has been entered in quest of facts, and these facts, in the hands of a mind trained in legal processes and practiced in the art of teaching, have been so handled as to bring the salient truths clearly and entertainingly before the mind of the general reader.

Not only is Professor Parsons thus thoroughly equipped to speak with authority on the railway question, but he possesses the other three requisites essential to thoroughly trustworthy work. He knows his subject as perhaps does no other thinker in the United States, and everyone who knows the man knows that he is above all else thoroughly conscientious. No man in public life to-day would so scorn to mislead or practice any of the arts of the special-pleading pettifogger as would Professor Parsons. We have known him intimately for almost a score of years and have no hesitancy in saying that we do not know a man more absolutely conscientious, truth-loving or fair-minded than is Professor Frank Parsons. And he is as careful as he is conscientious. He looks on all sides of a question. He is judicial, fair and just. He has been called to appear before senatorial commissions, United States commissions and other representative bodies, and in every instance his thorough knowledge of his subject, his careful and just presentation of the differ-

ent views and his sound reasoning have profoundly impressed those to whom he has spoken.

A work by such a thinker would necessarily attract general attention and take a high place even though the subject was far less prominently before the public mind than is the railway rate question at the present time; but dealing with the most living issue of the hour in American politics, it is easily *the* book of the month.

II.

The volume contains thirty-five brief chapters in which are discussed such questions as the following: "The Law and the Fact," "Passes and Politics," "Passenger Rebates and Other Forms of Discrimination in Passenger Traffic," "Freight Discriminations," "The Senate Investigation of 1885 and the Interstate Commerce Act," "Effects of the Interstate Act," "Substitutes for Rebates," "Denial of Fair Facilities," "Oil and Beef," "Imports and Exports," "Locality Discriminations," "Long-Haul Decisions of the Supreme Court," "Ten Years of Federal Regulation," "The Elkins Act and Its Effects," "The Wisconsin Revelations," "The Colorado Fuel Rebates and Other Cases," "Midnight Tariffs and Elevator Fees," "Commodity Discriminations," "Discrimination by Classification," "Private-Car Abuses," "Nullifying the Protective Tariff," "Summary of Methods and Results," "Fixing Rates by Public Authority," "Can Regulation Secure the Needful Dominance of Public Interest?" and "Hints From Other Countries."

It would be well for the country if several of the chapters of this work should be published in tract form and circulated by the millions. Take for example "Passes and Politics," in which the question of bribery by passes, courtesies and favors is presented in so lucid and entertaining a manner that if it could be put into the hands of the million there would soon arise a mighty protest against this most vicious and corrupting of all forms of bribery that would compel recreant lawmakers to enact legislation that would make the receiving public servants and the bribe-givers alike criminals. There can be no great moral advance and no adequate justice for the people until government of the railroads and for the railroads, by bribery, is summarily stopped by penalizing the offering of a pass or a favor by a public-service com-

pany or the acceptance of the same, or any other favor, by a public servant. A few extracts from this chapter will give our readers a taste of the manner in which Professor Parsons discusses the subject:

"Many persons of wealth or influence, legislators, judges, sheriffs, assessors, representatives of the press, big shippers, and agents of large concerns, get free transportation, while those less favored must pay not only for their own transportation, but for that of the railway favorites also.

"A farmer and a lawyer occupied the same seat in a railroad car. When the conductor came the farmer presented his ticket, and the lawyer a pass. The farmer did not conceal his disgust when he discovered that his seat-mate was a deadhead. The lawyer, trying to assuage the indignation of the farmer, said to him: 'My friend, you travel very cheaply on this road.' 'I think so myself,' replied the farmer, 'considering the fact that I have to pay fare for both of us.'

"The free-pass system is specially vicious because of its relation to government. Passes are constantly given to public officials in spite of the law, and constitutes one of the most insidious forms of bribery and corruption yet invented.

"Recently the Pennsylvania Railroad gave notice that after January 1, 1906, no free passes would be issued except to employees.

"We watched with much interest to see what the railroad would really do when the time for full enforcement of the order came. In Pennsylvania, as was anticipated, the order has been used as a basis for refusing passes to the overgrown horde of grafters who have feasted so long at the Pennsylvania's tables. The railway does not want anything this year in Pennsylvania that the grafters can give it, and it is an excellent opportunity to punish the Pittsburgh politicians for allowing the Gould lines to enter the city. But in Ohio the situation is different, and, in spite of the recent order, the time-honored free passes have been sent to every member of the Ohio legislature. A press dispatch from Columbus, January 1, says: 'One of the notable events that marked the opening of the general assembly to-day was the unexpected arrival of railroad passes for every member. The Pennsylvania, first to announce that the time-hon-

ored graft would be cut off, was the first to send the little tickets, and the other lines followed suit.'

"The Pennsylvania is not alone in its delicate generosity to legislators and other persons of influence. The practice is practically universal. From Maine to California there is not a state in which the railroads refrain from giving passes to legislators, judges, mayors, assessors, etc. And the roads expect full value for their favors. Some time ago a member of the Illinois Legislature applied to the president of a leading road for a pass. In reply he received the following:

"Your letter of the 22d to President —, requesting an annual over the railroad of this company, has been referred to me. A couple of years ago, after you had been furnished with an annual over this line, you voted against a bill which you knew this company was directly interested in. Do you know of any particular reason, therefore, why we should favor you with an annual this year?"

"In many cases the pass is the first step on the road to railroad servitude. Governor Folk said to me: 'The railroads debauch legislators at the start by the free pass. It is a misdemeanor by the law of this State to take such a favor. But it seems so ordinary a thing that the legislator takes it. He may start out with good intentions, but he takes a pass and then the railroad people have him in their power. He has broken the law, and if he does not do as they wish they threaten to publish the number of his pass. He generally ends by taking bribe money. He's in the railroad power anyway to a certain extent, and thinks he might as well make something out of it. In investigating cases of corruption I have found that in almost every instance the first step of the legislator toward bribery was the acceptance of a railroad pass.'

"At the annual dinner of the Boston Merchants' Association, January, 1906, Governor Folk said: 'One of our greatest evils is the domination of public affairs by our great corporations, and we will never get rid of corporation dominance till we get rid of the free pass. That is the insidious bribe that carries our legislators over the line of probity. First seduced by the free pass, destruction is easy. No legislator has a right to accept a free pass; no more right than to accept its equivalent in money.' Even the laws against the free pass, Governor Folk says, often play into the hands

of the railways and emphasize and fasten corruption upon the State by putting legislators and officials at the mercy of the railroads in consequence of the fact that the taking of a pass is a violation of law, so that the railway has a special hold upon the donee as soon as the favor is accepted. This is likely to be the effect unless the law is so thoroughly enforced as to prevent the taking of passes, which is very difficult and very seldom achieved.

"A prominent judge who had been on the bench for years in one of our best States and had always received passes from various railroad companies, found at the beginning of a new year that one of the principal railroads had failed to send him the customary pass. Thinking it an oversight he called the attention of the railroad's chief attorney to the fact. 'Judge,' said the lawyer, 'did you not recently decide an important case against our company?' 'And was not my decision in accordance with law and justice?' said the judge. The attorney did not reply to this, but a few days later the judge got his pass. After some months it again became the duty of the judge to render a decision against the company. This second act of judicial independence was not forgiven. The next time he presented his pass the conductor confiscated it in the presence of many passengers and required the judge to pay his fare.

"The president of an important railroad is stated to have said that he 'saved his company thousands of dollars a year by giving annual passes to county auditors.' And a man who had been auditor for many years said that the taxes of the — railroad company were increased about \$20,000 a year because it was so stingy with its passes.

"Members of legislatures and of Congress have told me that after voting against railroad measures the usual passes were not forthcoming.

"The Hon. Martin A. Knapp, Chairman of the Interstate Commerce Commission, says: 'A gentleman told me that on one occasion he came from Chicago to Washington along in the latter days of November, and every passenger in the Pullman car, besides himself, was a member of Congress or other Government official, with their families, and that he was the only passenger who paid a cent for transportation from Chicago to Washington,

either for his passage or for his Pullman car.'

"Big shippers and their agents get them as a premium on or inducement to shipments over the donating railroad. When we went to the St. Louis Exposition we had to pay our fare, but the shipping manager of a large firm I have in mind was given free transportation for himself and family, though he was abundantly able to pay. In fact, those best able to pay ride free, while the poor have to pay for the rich as well as for themselves.

"President Stickney, of the Chicago and Great Western Railroad, said in a recent address before the Washington Economic Society:

"The law which makes it a misdemeanor for any individual not an officer of a railway company to use a pass was enacted by Congress and approved by the President eighteen years ago, and as an individual rule of action it was ignored by the congressmen who passed and by the President who approved it; and subsequent congressmen and presidents, with rare exceptions, have ignored its provisions. Traveling, they present the evidence of their misdemeanor before the eyes of the public in a way which indicates no regard for the law. The governors of the States, many of the judges,—in short, all officialdom from the highest to the lowest,—the higher clergy, college professors, editors, merchants, bankers, lawyers, present the evidence of their misdemeanor in the same manner."

Professor Parsons estimates that the probable free travel on the railways of America amounts to \$50,000,000 a year, which is of course a tax on those who do pay. How different are the provisions in countries where the government owns and operates the railways is seen from the following:

"The government roads of Austria, Germany and Belgium not only did not offer passes, but refused to grant them even when considerable pressure was brought to bear. The Minister of Railways in Austria informed me that he had no pass himself, but paid his fare like any ordinary traveler. No amount of personal or official pull could secure free transportation. The same thing I found was true in Germany. Only railway employés whose duty calls them over the road have passes. The Minister pays when he travels

on his own account. And the Emperor also pays for his railway travel. It is the settled policy of government roads in all enlightened countries to treat all customers alike so far as possible, concessions being made, if at all, to those who cannot afford to pay or who have some claim on the ground of public policy: as in South Africa where children are carried free to school; in New Zealand, where men out of work are taken to places where they may find employment, on credit or contingent payment; and in Germany and other countries, where tickets are sold at half price for the working-people's trains in and out of the cities morning and night.

"Even in England, though the roads are private like ours, the working-people have cheap trains, and public officials pay full fare. The King of England pays his fare when traveling, and if he has a special train he pays regular rates for that too. Members of Parliament also and minor public officials pay for transportation. Passes are not given for political reasons. The law against this class of discriminations is thoroughly enforced. But in this country not only members of Congress and other public officials, but some of our presidents even have subjected themselves to severe criticism by accepting free transportation in disregard of Federal law."

The chapter on "Passenger Rebates and Other Forms of Discrimination in Passenger Traffic" is equally interesting and illuminating. Space forbids our giving more than a brief quotation illustrating the private passenger-car evil that adds so enormously to the burdens of these who pay to travel or otherwise use the railways, as the enormous expenses lavished in this way have to be made up out of other receipts.

"In a tour to the Pacific coast and back a score of private cars at different times were attached to the various trains I was on. A friend who went a year or so later counted nine private cars on his journey in California, four of them being attached to the same train at the same time, and in the whole 9,000 miles he traveled the total number of private cars ran up to 54. Any trust or railroad magnate or governor of a State may have a private car with his retinue, while the lesser deadheads ride in the ordinary cars or Pullman coaches; and the common people pay for it all."

The above quotation reminds us of the remarks recently made in a conversation with

a gentleman of the highest character who for years was engaged in the auditor's office of a leading railway. He said the president and general manager both had their private cars. "When their families or friends desired to go on a jaunt the cars are at their disposal stocked with the finest viands, including liquors and cigars, and the road bears the expense."

"You mean the traveling public that does not enjoy this form of graft pays the tariff," we interposed.

"Yes, in the long run; but," he continued, "this road is at present making a very poor showing which is leading to a depression of the market value of the stock. Therefore the investors also feel the effect of this shameful extravagance that does not appear on the salary accounts."

It is not, however, until the reader enters the province of freight discriminations that the giant character of the moral criminality of the railroads casts its longest and most sinister shadow; for here, as Professor Parsons points out, is "a kind of discrimination that enables a railway manager to determine which of the merchants, manufacturers, mine-owners, etc., on his line shall prosper and which shall not; what cities and towns shall grow, what States shall thrive, what industries shall be developed."

The discussion of this important theme is as full and conclusive as the revelations contained are appalling. Here are facts marshaled in battalions,—facts so overwhelming and definite in character that one marvels at the moral obloquy of a great nation's public servants who remain indifferent in their presence. Only one explanation can be made the railways own the people's servants. They are the servants or tools of the corporate interests before they are the servants of the people. This is a legitimate result of giving franchises or rights of fabulous value, that create monopolies in public utilities, to private corporations. The privileged class, seeing what it means to be masters of the situation and to hold the millions of the nation in subjection, will go to any lengths to gain complete control, when that mastership means hundreds of millions of dollars for the privileged few. Thus the intellectually acute and morally degenerate become political bosses and brokers in politics for the benefit of their corporate masters. Through their instrumentality men thoroughly satisfactory to the

corporations are selected for the people to elect, and they systematically defeat the incorruptible and aggressively honest champions of the people and of civic morality who chance to be nominated. Moreover, as they have debauched the people's servants by the systematic bestowal of passes, favors and courtesies, so they have debauched and gained control of the great political machines by lavish contributions to campaign funds on condition that their interests are not to be antagonized. And this condition has gone on until the people of the nation have become a prey to the rapacity of the criminal rich who manipulate the great railways and other natural monopolies of the nation. Until the people take over all the public utilities, corruption will increase and the plutocratic influence will become more and more powerful in the nation.

The private-ownership of public utilities is destroying free government in America. It is corrupting national life in all its departments of activity where the financial ends of monopolists are concerned. It is lowering business and social ideals. It is blunting the moral sensibilities of church, college and the nation at large, and it is levying an enormous tribute from the wealth-creators of the nation. Moreover, these evils will necessarily grow so long as the natural monopolies of the nation or those public utilities which of right should belong to and be operated and owned by all the people are exploited by a few for their personal enrichment and aggrandizement. The only remedy for these evils is to be found in public-ownership, and the results wherever public ownership has been tried have more than justified the anticipations of the friends of free institutions and just and clean government. On this point we cannot refrain from noticing some of Professor Parsons' observations relating to the results of public-ownership in foreign lands, from the concluding chapter of this important work:

"Germany tried private railways for 25 years, and Austria tried them over a quarter of a century, and they have tried the two methods side by side ever since the public system was organized. In New Zealand, also, and Australia the two systems have been tried side by side. And in every one of these countries where they have thoroughly tried both systems the conclusion by an overwhelming consensus of opinion is that public railways serve the public interests best, and also

make lower rates and serve the people at less total cost. Switzerland, after a careful study of both systems in various parts of the world, came to the same conclusion, and her people voted 2 to 1 to transfer the railways to public-ownership and operation. All this is very strong evidence, and if we turn from the tangled web of an international comparison of averages and look at the principles and causes at work in the case, it will be clear that public-ownership tends to lower rates as well as to conserve the higher wealth.

"In the same country and under similar conditions otherwise than in respect to ownership and control, public-ownership tends as a rule to make lower rates than private-ownership. This tendency results from the fundamental difference of aim between the two systems. Private monopoly aims at dividends for stockholders; public-ownership aims at service for all. A normal public institution aims at the public good, while a normal private monopoly aims at private profit. It serves public interest also, but such service is incidental, and not the primary purpose. It serves the public interest so long as it runs along in the same direction and is linked with private profit, but when the public interest departs from or runs counter to the interests owning or controlling the system, the public interests are subordinated.

"Public-ownership aims at service, not at profit, and therefore gravitates to the lower rate-level, where traffic and service are greater.

"The State railways of Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Denmark, and the Anglo-Saxon republics of South Africa and Australasia are absolutely free from unjust discrimination. There are no complaints or suspicions on that score. Shippers know to a certainty that their rivals are paying the same charges that they are. Even the most strenuous opponents of public railways do not accuse them of favoritism.

"The railways of New Zealand are not troubled with complaints of discrimination, nor those of New South Wales or Queensland or Victoria. And in these boiling and bubbling republics, if there were the slightest suspicion of a reason for attacking the Government management on this ground, it would be done by the political opponents of the administrations.

"The Government railways of Natal and Central South Africa are equally free from secret concessions and favoritisms of every kind."

There are those who, after denying that public-ownership would abate corruption and discrimination and finding themselves proved to be in the wrong, take refuge in the silly, shallow and essentially slanderous cry that while public-ownership in various foreign lands wherever tried, whether in New Zealand or Germany, Switzerland or Belgium, England or Austria, may have resulted in lessening corruption and increasing efficiency, it would fail in this country because the American people are too corrupt to be entrusted with the ownership and operation of public utilities. This slander on the Republic should be resented by every self-respecting citizen. The circumstance that the great

railway and other public-service corporations have steadily and silently gained control of political bosses and machines and by princely campaign contributions and other forms of bribery and corrupt practices have packed the government with their own attorneys and others complacent to them, only proves that the American people have one great and all-important duty to perform: Turn the rascals out; destroy the power of the privileged few to continue to debauch government, plunder the masses and reap hundreds of millions of dollars that should go to the individuals and the State.

Space forbids our further noticing this great work of Professor Parsons. Sufficient to say, however, that it is by far the most important, authoritative and comprehensive popular discussion of the rate question that has appeared, and no intelligent American should fail to read it.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE AUTHOR OF "THE CIVIC EFFICIENCY OF THE EDUCATED CLASS": "The Civic Efficiency of the Educated Class" is a paper of more than ordinary interest and value to thoughtful friends of the Republic. The author is a fundamental thinker and a man of unusually broad mental vision. He graduated from Yale College in 1864 and holds the degree of Master of Arts from that Institution. Later he attended Princeton and Andover Theological Seminary, and for many years was actively engaged in ministerial labors. In 1871 he accepted the chair of English in Beloit College, which he retained until 1899. He was a contributing editor to the Century Dictionary and is an honorary member of the British Association for the Advancement of Science.

Leaders of Civilization and Defenders of the People's Rights: THE ARENA has given during the past few months several papers devoted to the fine constructive work being carried forward by genuine leaders of civilization and defenders of the people's rights. Among these were Professor BEMIS' admirable sketch of Mayor JOHNSON of Cleveland; the very notable pen-picture of the late SAMUEL M. JONES, the Golden-Rule Mayor of Toledo, by a scholarly journalist who had long known this apostle of human advancement; and sketches by the editor of EDWIN MARKHAM, the poet of democracy, DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS, the novelist of democratic progress, WILSON L. GILL, the twentieth-century educator, and Judge BEN B. LINDSEY, the high-minded

and enlightened jurist whose great work is justly attracting the attention of the noblest minds in America. This month we publish an exceptionally fine paper prepared for THE ARENA by WILLIAM KITTLE, Secretary of the Board of Regents of Normal Schools of Wisconsin, on "Robert M. La Follette: A Statesman After the Order of Lincoln." The author is thoroughly acquainted with his subject and has followed Mr. LA FOLLETTE's political life with deep and critical if sympathetic interest. Like hundreds of thousands of other patriotic Americans, he has found the fearless governor-senator an intrepid, honest and loyal popular leader, such as the people are everywhere calling for in the present crisis. In this issue we also publish a pen-picture of Mayor J. N. ADAM, another high-minded municipal leader.

"British Egypt" and Its Author: Readers of general literature will be deeply interested in the authoritative pen-picture of the events that led up to English occupation of Egypt and the results that have followed that important event, as narrated by Mr. ERNEST CROSBY in Part I. of his discussion of "British Egypt." Mr. CROSBY was for some time judge of the Mixed Tribunal at Alexandria and when holding this official position he gained an intimate knowledge of the facts with which he deals. The subject is one that will appeal to all persons desiring accurate knowledge relating to important events of contemporaneous history. In two further papers Mr. CROSBY will deal with later happenings and

their import in relation to English occupation of the land of the Pharaohs.

"Direct Primaries": The American people are in the midst of the most important conflict that has been fought since the birth of the nation—a battle to rescue the Republic from as dangerous and as corrupt and subversive a power as ever attempted by stealth to destroy a free government. The privileged interests, controlling bosses and political machines, have in numerous instances robbed the American people of all but the form of free government, and they are to-day entrenched in power and are using that power to contest every effort of the voters to regain the government for the people. The Direct Primary, Direct-Legislation and the Right of Recall are all practical methods that would enable the people to meet the changed conditions of the present and to defeat the despotism of the criminal rich and overthrow their rule through the corrupt bosses and political mis-representatives who are the creatures of the trusts and privileged interests. Hence it is the duty—the sacred and imperative duty—of every citizen of America who loves the Republic to fight staunchly for all these great reform movements. In this issue we publish an excellent paper on "Direct Primaries" written by IRA CROSS whose recent paper on coöperative stores attracted such general and favorable notice.

"The Socialist Programme": "For weal or woe," says Mr. SLADE in his admirable paper on "The Socialist Programme," "Socialism is developing apace in every country where industrialism has created a propertyless proletariat." And it is to give the general reader an intelligent conception of just what Socialism the world over means that he has prepared his paper for this issue of THE ARENA. The author has made a deep study of the subject and before preparing the paper he made a careful comparative examination of the platforms and programmes of the Socialist parties of the leading nations. This paper is remarkably clear and lucid, considering it is so condensed.

"The Feminization of the High-School": Dr. WILLIAM LEE HOWARD, the famous nerve specialist and student of psychology, contributes a paper to this issue in which he protests against the mixed high-school. His views are shared by many prominent physicians and some educators, although, as we have pointed out in "The Mirror of the Present," they are in direct opposition to the views of other prominent heads of coeducational institutions—

educators who have for years carefully observed the actual results of the union of the sexes in university work.

The Direct-Legislation Primer: This month we publish Chapter II. of the Direct-Legislation Primer prepared for The Arena Clubs by leading Direct-Legislation authorities of America. It presents the subject of the popular Initiative in a manner which will make it readily understood by the general reader, and it also notices the various chief objections that have been advanced against this fundamentally sound democratic method of preserving free government. Next month we hope to publish the third and last instalment of the Direct-Legislation Primer. The Initiative and Referendum deal with Direct-Legislation, and in the supplementary chapter which is yet to appear the Right of Recall, Proportional Representation and Direct Primaries will be noticed as other fundamental and practical measures for preserving free government.

Our Story: In "Thin Tilly Westover" Mrs. HELEN C. BERGEN-CURTIS gives us a charming little realistic life-sketch that is strong in human interest and abounds in delicate touches.

Mr. Mills' Paper: The next instalment of Mr. MILLS' magnificent history of the war of corporate wealth against the rights of man in Colorado will deal with the labor troubles in Colorado and Idaho, and it has been thought best, owing to the conditions that prevail at the present time, to hold the matter back until our July issue, in order to give the proper historical connection with the events that will be the subject of this discussion. There has been a vast amount of newspaper writing done in the interests of the Mine Owners' Association, the Smelter-Trust and the great corporations of Colorado, which have long been striving to destroy the influence of organized labor in the West and to cast upon it the odium of crimes which have not, as yet, been proved, and which organized labor has resented as malicious calumny. Mr. MILLS will not only bring to the discussion the broad vision of a statesmanlike mind and the trained methods of one accustomed to impartially weighing evidence, but will also treat it in a spirit that shall harmonize with the principles of free government and the rights of man, rather than from the view-point of one who appeals to class prejudices in the interests of privileged wealth. This paper will be a very notable contribution to this distinctly great series.

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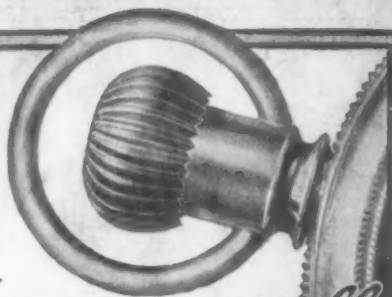
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